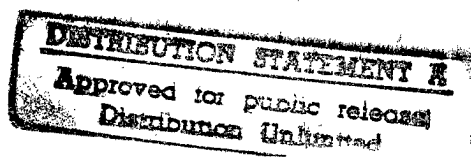


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# East Europe Report



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12 March 1986

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## NEW FINANCING, TAX SYSTEM FOR FARMS APPROVED

Budapest FIGYELO in Hungarian No 47, 21 Nov 85 p 13

[Article by Mrs Aniko Nagy-Javorszky: "I Give Some, I Take Some"]

[Text] The income situation of agricultural enterprises has continuously deteriorated during the 1980s. The share withheld by the state steadily increased, and by 1984 it amounted to 17 billion forints. This necessitated the re-examination of the agricultural enterprises' operating conditions. The Council of Ministers has already accepted the new system of regulations which will come into effect in 1986.

## Reduced Support

Until now, agricultural enterprises received financial support under three categories: in accordance with their investments, in order to increase their production, and for the purpose of obtaining production equipment. 70 percent of this support was for the increase of production; this figure was followed by the amount earmarked for the purchase of industrially manufactured production equipment. The least amount was devoted to enhance investments.

The amount of support gradually decreased: While in 1976 it covered 30 percent, in 1984 it paid for only 9 percent of investments. For example, the support of constructions was reduced by 49 percent, the subsidizing of machinery has been eliminated, and the amount of other types of support was increased by 9 percent.

In contrast to the support of investments, the amounts earmarked for the enhancement of production have more than doubled since 1976. Within this category, the enterprises operating under unfavorable conditions received 20 percent of the production support in 1976, and 28 percent in 1984.

Production support amounted to 7.4 percent of the gross production in the cooperatives, and 5.4 percent in the state farms. However, while the cooperatives' proportion has increased since 1976, the state farms' share decreased during the same period. The same trend can be observed in the proportion of the enterprises' achievements as well. In 1976 the amount of support per hectare of cropland and per employee doubled the amount given to

the cooperatives. By 1984, however, the level of support received by the cooperatives significantly approached the state farms' level.

#### Pretexts of Taxation

In order to complete the picture, it should be pointed out that the support money earmarked for the purchase of manufactured capital equipment in fact ends up not in the hands of the producers but in those of the merchandising firms. In spite of this, this money is legally recorded under the category of assistance extended to agriculture. In a peculiar manner, while other types of subsidies and state withholdings apply only to the large agricultural enterprises, even the small producers are considered when it comes to indirect support.

Due to the withholding or reduction of indirect support, the cost of capital equipment has increased by 60 percent between 1976 and 1985. Support for purchasing small agricultural machinery has become insignificant, and that for pesticides has been reduced by 77 percent. On the other hand, the purchase of artificial fertilizers received 31 percent more support. But this 31 percent increase did not balance out the 39 percent increase in the price of fertilizers, even though in 1984 the subsidies for fertilizer purchases made up 76 percent of all indirect support.

As for the amount withheld by the state, in 1984 agricultural enterprises paid taxes under the following pretexts: contribution to urban and community development; taxes on incomes and profits; taxes on the basis of income regulation and health insurance; production, construction, and building equipment taxes; taxes on the volume of sales and on real estate owned. In addition, they had to pay differential sales taxes, commercial taxes, one-time fees for the use of real estate, investment fees, and there were occasionally other non-normative budgetary requirements as well.

In 1976 withholdings equalled 13 percent, and in 1984, 15 percent of gross income, that is, one and a half and two times the amount of production results, respectively. In the case of the state farms, the amount of withholding per hectare of cropland, or per employee, was much higher as early as 1976, but especially in 1984, than the amount withheld from the cooperatives. State farms, whose cultivating practices are more intensive, paid 63 percent more taxes per hectare of cropland and 30 percent more per employee than the cooperatives.

Between 1976 and 1984 the total amount of withholding increased by two and a half times: somewhat more in the case of state farms, somewhat less in the case of cooperatives. Among the reasons it should be mentioned that, for example, since 1976 income taxes have doubled, while the tax base, gross income, has only increased by 79 percent. The amount of national health insurance contribution increased by three and a half times, while the figure upon which it is based, the amount of wages, grew by only 79 percent. Since 1976, the amount of insurance premiums was continuously higher than the amount paid out by the insurers, even in years of drought, hailstorms or floods.

It must be admitted that taxes on land have increased by only an insignificant amount, even though the area of arable land has decreased since 1976. Production taxes tripled, but income from auxiliary activities has also increased at a similar rate.

### Sizeable Banking Costs

Among the various withholding items, the greatest growth--a 12-fold increase--was experienced by taxes connected with income regulations. (Until 1983, contribution to wage-development, income-growth, honorarium, and share taxes, and beginning with 1984 progressive profit, honorarium and share taxes.) In addition to this great increase, construction and building-equipment taxes grew four and a half-fold, and sales taxes two and a half-fold. Banking costs are more than two and a half times what they used to be.

In 1976 and 1984 alike, the largest withholding items were the profit taxes and the premiums on the national health insurance. In 1984 their combined total nearly amounted to half of the total withholdings. These proportions were identical in the case of state farms and cooperatives, but not the production taxes! In 1984 this amounted to 17 percent of the total withholdings in the cooperatives, but only 9 percent in the state farms. The explanation: State farms were more involved in food-processing activities, which enjoy tax-free status. On the other hand, their banking expenses are sizeable, representing 20 percent of their withholdings. This is due to the fact that state farms have larger parks of specific capital equipment, and a higher specific proportion of outstanding investment credits, while their larger holdings of current equipment are also burdened by more debt.

During the period between 1976 and 1985 agricultural enterprises operated under increasingly difficult conditions. The price of machinery, chemicals and energy supplies increased at a higher rate than the production cost of agricultural goods.

### Changing Balance

During the nine years in question, the amount of support grew by 24 percent, while the total of budgetary and other withholdings increased two and a half-fold. In 1976 there were still 5.5 billion forints more in support than in withholdings. (However, if we do not take the indirect support enjoyed by the merchandising enterprises into consideration, the balance was already negative.) In contrast to this, last year the amount of withholdings exceeded that of support by 17 billion forints.

Agricultural enterprises attempted to make up for these burdens by increasing their participation in non-agricultural activities which are less equipment-demanding and at the same time bring more certain and quicker profits. They became more economy-minded in their handling of manufactured material and reduced their investments. The number of equipment items depreciated to zero has grown significantly.

The profits of agricultural enterprises grew by 79 percent between 1976 and 1985. However, the amount of profits pro-rated into costs was 11 fillers in 1976, and 1984 it was only 9 fillers, which indicates an 18 percent decrease.

Table I: The investment support extended to agricultural enterprises (in million forints)\*

	1976	1984	1984 (%) 1976=100
Construction	2,113	1,137	53.8
Machinery	3,325	21	0.6
Other	926	1,005	108.5
Total	6,364	2,163	34.0
Per hectare of cropland (forints)	1,052	352	33.5
Per employee (1000 forints)	8.0	2.7	33.8
In percentage of investments	30.4	8.7	28.6

\*Based on the data of the Central Statistical Office (KSH)

Table II: Production support extended to large agricultural enterprises (in million forints)\*

	1976	1984	1984 (%) 1976=100
Total (including payments made by insurer and taxes withheld)	9,212	21,673	234.2
Within this: From budget	6,417	15,383	239.7
Within this: Earmarked for enterprises operating under unfavorable conditions	1,836	6,108	332.7
Per hectare of cropland (forints)	1,523	3,512	230.6
Per employee (forints)	11.6	26.4	227.6
In percentage of gross production	6.1	6.8	111.5
In percentage of production result	71.8	96.0	133.7

\*Based on the data of the Central Statistical Office (KSH)

Table III: The indirect support of agriculture \* (Current price in million forints)

	1976	1984	1984 (%) 1976=100
Total	9,113	6,959	76.4
Within this: purchase of small machinery, parts	1,794	138	7.7
: artificial fertilizer	4,023	5,259	130.7
: pesticides	2,843	644	22.7
: wool	291	724	248.8

\*Based on the data of the Central Statistical Office (KSH)

Table IV: The obligations of agricultural enterprises \* (million forints)

	1976	1984	1984 (%) 1976=100
Taxes on incomes & profits	3,560	7,613	213.8
Contribution to national health insurance program	3,842	13,934	362.8
Production tax	2,328	7,185	308.6
Other withholdings	4,033	7,810	193.7
Total	13,763	36,542	265.5
Total including banking costs & insurance premiums	19,181	47,459	247.4
Per hectare of cropland (forints)	3,171	7,724	243.6
Per employee (forints)	24.1	58.2	241.5
In percentage of gross production	12.7	15.0	118.1
In percentage of production result	149.4	211.3	141.4

\*Based on the data of the Central Statistical Office (KSH)

Table V: The balance of support and withholdings (million forints)

	1976	1984	1984 (%) 1976=100
Investment support	6,364	2,163	34.0
Production support	9,212	21,573	234.2
Indirect support	9,113	6,959	76.4
Total support	24,689	30,695	124.3
Total withholdings	19,181	47,459	247.4
Balance difference	+5,508	-16,761	22,272

\*Based on data of the Central Statistical Office (KSH)

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## HUNGARY CONSIDERED AS ECONOMIC REFORM MODEL FOR USSR

Bonn EUROPA-ARCHIV in German No 4, 1984 pp 111-118

/Article by George Schoepflin, lecturer in East European Institutions, London School of Economics and at school of Slavonic and East European studies, London University: "The Capacity for Reform in Soviet Systems: Is Hungary a Model?"

/Text/ One of the most stubborn myths of the seventies and eighties, diligently propagated by the Western press and abetted by the Budapest regime, is the myth of a liberal communist reform system in Hungary.

It is interesting enough to speculate as to why the West--both the media and public opinion (not to mention governments and financial circles)--feels the need to believe in the existence of at least one East European nation whose situation may be characterized as "reasonable" and "acceptable." The solution to this enigma may possibly be buried in some Western credo, e.g., guilt in the face of the West's inability to do anything about the continuing submission of Eastern Europe to the Soviet Union or belief in detente, based either on the desire for peace or simply on ignorance or the wish to be dazzled by the glitter of the Budapest boutiques. It is worth noting that Hungary is not the first country to benefit from this Western gullibility. For some time, Romania was the darling of the West until President Ceausescu succeeded in irreparably destroying the image of his country in the West. In the sixties, it was Czechoslovakia on which the West was about to pin its highest hopes. In the early seventies, Poland was in fashion for a brief period of time; but Gierek's failure put an end to that soon enough. There were even some who warmed up to the GDR--but those were the exception, i.e., people with authoritarian leanings or socialists who place a higher value on faith than on experience. Perhaps one day the time will come when this part will be assigned to Bulgaria or even Albania. There seem to be no limits to the spread of this pastime because it is based on a need to believe.

But in reality Hungary is entirely different from what these people would like it to be. To be sure, there are the bright lights and the elegant shops along Vaci utca and its environs; certainly there are traffic jams in Budapest and the food shops are filled with goods. But behind that facade there is a far more complex Hungarian reality and that reality is of immediate concern as we try to answer the following two questions: whether the Hungarian political



system is (a) a communist reform system in the true sense of the word and (b) whether it may serve as a model for other Soviet-type systems.

#### Definition of Soviet-type System

First of all, we need to define the Soviet-type system. For the purposes of this article it may suffice to describe the major characteristics of such a system as follows: a closely knit political elite which is organized as a party (but in reality has nothing in common with political parties as we know them in the West) and whose primary goal is to concentrate power in their own hands--without permitting any other social organizations to function. This goal of holding on to power is of greater importance than legitimacy, social justice, performance, capital formation and economic rationality. Whenever the party's claim to absolute power has been threatened, it has responded with coercive measures without regard to the consequences.<sup>1</sup>

Below this elite, a partial modernization process has taken place--or at least the first stage of one. But insofar as it was successful, this process, too, amounted to a distortion of the needs and wants of the societies of Eastern Europe: since these countries had already gone the way of modernization prior to the communist takeover at least some of them were forced to regress to simpler, premodern conditions as a consequence of the power monopoly exercised by the communists. This was most evident in the case of Czechoslovakia which clearly went backward; but it also applies to a lesser degree to Hungary. In the pivotal areas of modernization, e.g., complexity, change and free choice, the Soviet-type systems have made very little headway.

Since the end of the Stalinist era, there has been a fundamental transformation in East European politics. Prior to de-Stalinization, the communist parties insisted on monolithic control which amounted to a virtual claim to control of all activities and initiatives of government and society; but subsequently the parties allowed certain unofficial, incipient and not yet institutionalized activities to take place outside their control which meant that the "leadership role of the party" did not include an unlimited monopoly over all activities and initiatives and that there might thus be some conflicts of interest (of a "nonantagonistic" nature) even in Soviet-type systems. There were some important consequences for Eastern Europe which arose from this new definition of the monopoly role. The individual was granted a great deal more freedom of choice, particularly with regard to economic issues. It led to a "de-ideologization" of major areas of intellectual life (e.g., since the one and only, all-encompassing Marxist-Leninist rationality no longer applied, there was nothing to prevent the use of Western technical rationality as for instance in the construction of bridges). This, in turn, provided the party with enough room to maneuver so as to redefine the kind of loyalty it expected of the intelligentsia along more liberal lines. On this basis, the majority of the intelligentsia--particularly the technical intelligentsia could be co-opted--a process which became known as the "changeover from Red to expert."<sup>2</sup>

This process also required the party to redefine its claim to legitimacy. While party rule during the Stalin era was justified in the name of the perfect, utopian society being built, legitimacy was justified in the name of the party's

claim to the "monopoly of rationality and efficiency" once the period of de-Stalinization began. In all those cases where that claim did not turn out to be justified in practice, a healthy dose of nationalism was added.

Under normal conditions, i.e., if the party was not under too heavy pressure, this system worked well enough to guarantee a certain stability. But whenever party control grew weaker for one reason or another, it soon became apparent how narrow the base of party rule really was and that a large part of the population hoped for a radical change in power relationships in the direction of greater popular participation and a drastic reduction in the party's monopoly role. The past 30 years have also provided clarity regarding two other issues. One is that the popular goal of democratization remains unattainable as long as the Soviets and their satraps in East Europe remain resolved to prevent it. If there is one area in which these regimes continue to demonstrate a certain efficiency, then it is in their exercise of power, including coercion. Time and again, power has been displayed and used to shore up a Soviet-type system and to preserve its monopoly position to the greatest possible extent. But secondly, insofar as these societies have changed and have grown more complex, it has become more and more apparent that the absence of an institutionalized expression of interests; the generally prevailing informality; the continued power vacuum (resulting from the concentration of power) and the adherence to party hegemony vis-a-vis all comers throughout society--that all this has led to a political debacle which will be very difficult to repair.<sup>3</sup>

#### Kadar's Achievement

Viewed in this general context, Hungary has demonstrated relatively few signs of decay and has thus been earning special praise as /the/ country with a properly functioning Soviet-type system. The responsibility for it is largely ascribed to the slyness of the Hungarian leader, Janos Kadar, and his admirers quite openly speak of the Kadar model and of "Kadarization." The use of that particular term is doubtful at best, if it is meant to imply that it is a consciously applied reform strategy based on a clearly defined political program. The fact is that the Kadar regime's achievements are the result of a number of ad hoc measures, of experimentation guided by the vague desire to preserve a certain measure of popularity or to avoid the lack of popularity from which Kadar's predecessors in the early fifties suffered. In reality, the so-called Kadar model has passed through various stages of openness and isolation. But all throughout it was characterized by the leadership's lack of resolve as it tried to do justice to conflicting interests exemplified by the Soviet Union, its own party hardliners, the various economic and geographic interest groups and, in the final analysis, also by public opinion. The authentic Kadar style was in evidence only as regards the caution and empathy vis-a-vis the public with which the various shifts and maneuvers were carried out. This was the key element in the Kadar regime's exercise of power. Just as it has taken a very flexible approach to promoting its own point of view vis-a-vis Western journalis-s, it has with few exceptions demonstrated great skill in dealing with public opinion inside Hungary whenever political measures (e.g., price increases) were in the offing. As important as these questions of style may be--and one should not underestimate them--style still cannot

substitute for policy. There have been instances in which greater weight was attached to the facade of "liberal" policies, e.g., in dealing with the opposition, than to actual substance.<sup>4</sup>

The mainstays of the Kadar system may be divided into four categories. First of all, there are the close ties to the Soviet Union; the readiness always to accept limitations prescribed by Moscow and conformity with the Soviet Union regarding all major issues of foreign policy. Secondly, there is the restriction of the party's power as a result of the failed revolution of 1956. That event and its aftershocks have left their mark both on Hungarian society and the party. In the late fifties, the population was once again terrorized and subjected to systematic pressure against the strong aspirations toward autonomy which had been aroused during the revolution. When its membership plummeted from 900,000 to 30,000 between September and December 1956, the party was faced by total destruction. The rebuilding of the party and the re-establishment of its position of power was tantamount to a renewed communist takeover. It was the third time (since 1919 and 1948) that the communists went through this experience. The upshot of all these developments is that certain unstated limits have been accepted as regards the exercise of power by the party and that the party makes an effort to proceed cautiously and to look for at least a minimum of popular support. Thus, a kind of unwritten agreement was reached the central feature of which is that both the party and the people have entered a basic commitment to support the Hungarian state even though both sides still cling to their different idea of what constitutes "Hungarian identity."

In some respects, the third factor has been the most important of all. Following the second stage of de-Stalinization in the late sixties, the Hungarian party came to the realization that its monolithic structure could no longer be reconciled with the requirements of modern society. Conflicts of interest were allowed to arise as long as they were not institutionalized. This caused some confusion for a time but it did offer the various competing social groups an opportunity to articulate their specific interests. But at the same time, the power of party was not severely affected by this. The secret of this system is that it asks of all the political participants that they exercise a certain measure of understanding and tolerance. What also contributed to the success of this system was its fourth pillar: the personal role played by Kadar himself. It has turned out that he is neither an egotist with megalomaniacal plans (such as Ceaurescu or Gierak), nor a tyrant (such as Enver Hoxha), nor still a weak presidential figurehead (like Husak) but has tried to act like a cross between a first among equals and a humane father figure. His ranking position inside the party apparatus is not questioned although he has not been exercising it in a particularly dictatorial fashion. But when he throws his weight behind a change in policy, that change is accepted. This continuing accumulation of authority on Kadar's part has resulted in giving the system a personal cast. And that means that there is no way of institutionalizing his views and political practices--which would be difficult under any circumstances--and that the Kadar system will undergo profound change once he leaves the scene. This feature of the Kadar system became apparent during the course of the little-known events in 1972. At that time, Kadar, it seems, was just about ready to quit and did not reconsider his decision until his as yet unpublicized step caused the outbreak of a sharp struggle among the

different cliques inside the party. One of the consequences of these events was recentralization of functions. One also had to look back in dismay at the lost years in the course which additional changes might have been instituted in the middle and late seventies.

#### The Party and the Social Groups

From the point of view of Hungarian society, the system is based on a variety of agreements with all of the major social groups. The intelligentsia was integrated into the system by virtue of the fact that the concept of political loyalty is not being interpreted as rigidly as in the fifties and that it has been given access to the outer circles of power and to material benefits. The system has worked well up to now and the Hungarians do not tire of pointing out that any alternative to their policies could only be worse. In view of the 1956 and post-1956 trauma, this attitude can easily be understood. The result was the emergence of a kind of "negative legitimacy" which permits the intelligentsia to criticize conditions within the limitations prescribed by the party and the party, for its part, was sensible enough to err on the side of permissiveness so as not to risk dissatisfaction. Paradoxically, this has created a situation where the intellectuals support the system as the "least undesirable" alternative.

In the workers' case, the agreement is somewhat different in the sense that it focuses primarily on economic issues. The party has accepted the premise that the workers have a right to a steadily rising standard of living--or at least one that is not drastically lowered; also, to social benefits, to full employment and the freedom from drudgery. At the same time, certain categories of workers are accorded preferential treatment without regard to their actual contribution to the economy, i.e., in reality without regard to the principle of equality which still is (at least now and again) part and parcel of official ideology. It is fairly certain that about one-fourth to one-fifth of the population lives below the poverty line.

Through the application of a flexible and successful system which has brought farm income in line with industrial earnings, the farmers have assumed the role of supplier of basic foodstuffs on behalf of the regime.<sup>5</sup> Once again, it is worthwhile to point to the nature of the system which is characterized by ad hoc decisions and informal acts. Nothing has been institutionalized and, within broadly defined parameters, everything can be rescinded. The party has made concessions but not granted rights which could be appealed in a court of law. Conversely, the political cost of taking back any of these concessions could turn out to be too high. When restrictions on the private plots of the farmers were announced in 1975 with a view to reducing their high income, a large number of farmers immediately stopped production altogether and threatened to cut off food supplies to the cities. The restrictions were hurriedly withdrawn.

#### The Success of the System

The success has become apparent in four specific areas. The matter of style has already been referred to. The way in which the party has conducted its

relations with society; the care it has taken to adhere to formal procedures; the differentiation between political offenses and political mistakes and the relatively strong measures taken to combat corruption have all helped to preserve stability. This latter point is particularly noteworthy, since the regime was thereby able to avoid spectacular failures such as marred Gierek's years in power. Agricultural policy is generally viewed as a major success--and rightly so. This has been due partly to good luck and partly to good management. Ever since the mid-sixties, the party has accepted the fact that agriculture is part of the political landscape because this sector of the economy was collectivized and thus occupied its rightful place under socialism (as opposed to Polish agriculture). Under the circumstances, it was possible to demand greater investments in agriculture and a fairly effective agricultural lobby managed to make them stick. At the same time, the conditions under which the collectives had to operate were made more flexible than in industry so that enterprising managers of agricultural collectives were in a position to increase production. Equally, the members of the agricultural collectives were quietly permitted to work their private plots and even to use the collectives' equipment for that purpose. The limits on investments in private agriculture were sufficiently flexible to enable farmers to achieve high yields in foodstuffs and to sell them on free markets in the cities. This explains why Budapest is always well supplied with food at a time when other communist capitals regularly experience shortages.<sup>6</sup>

The third success story concerns the secondary economy tolerated by the party and the attempts to integrate some of the secondary activities into the primary (socialist) sector.<sup>7</sup> This has led to a number of consequences. It has provided the cities with a more or less adequate level of services which is something the socialist sector never manages to achieve for lack of flexibility, as is well known. It has directed the entrepreneurial talents and energies of a large part of the population toward self-enrichment (as opposed to political undertakings) and has provided the population with a cushion which helped soften the shock of the economic downturn of the late seventies and thus substantially expanded economic decisionmaking possibilities. But like so many things in Hungary, this free zone available to the secondary economy is unofficial and not institutionalized. For another thing, it results in additional inequities, since the different segments of the population do not have equal access to the secondary economy and their opportunities to profit from it are therefore not the same. It is particularly aggravating for the party that some of its most faithful adherents--the workers in heavy industry--come out worst in this system, since they do not have the necessary marketable skills and are therefore less than happy about the situation. It needs to be pointed out, however, that the smooth operation of the secondary economy cannot be celebrated as a triumph of party strategy. It did not develop the way it did on the basis of a conscious decision by the party but rather as a result of the recognition that it would be politically and economically unwise to place restrictions on it. This means that the party quietly accepted the fact that inequities could arise; that the officially proclaimed collective ethos was thereby jeopardized and--what is perhaps the worst of it--that two contrasting value systems now exist side by side: a private and a public one.<sup>8</sup>

Finally, the list of successes would also include the debate on reforms in 1982-83, which could be described as the most farreaching, officially sanctioned debate of its kind in any Soviet-type system since the "Prague Spring." In several of the contributions to this debate, the very nature of these systems was subjected to radical analysis and correspondingly radical proposals for change were submitted.<sup>9</sup>

At first glance, this looks like proof of the flexibility of the Hungarian party; but in fact it was merely a reaction to the imminent collapse of the country in 1982 and it is symptomatic of the real state of affairs that the debate achieved very few concrete results. Only the new election procedures could be considered a direct outgrowth of the debate. Since August-September 1983, far more orthodox statements have become the rule. Deputy Minister of Culture Deszo Toth has expressly warned of the dangers of overstepping the new boundaries outlined by the party.<sup>10</sup>

The applicability of the lessons learned from the Kadar system to other Soviet-type countries is therefore far more difficult than is generally thought. Too many of the positive aspects of this system are attributable to Hungarian peculiarities and the specific political management skills of the leadership under Kadar to transfer them to some other situation.<sup>11</sup> At best, the Kadar system might serve as an example for the fact that a Soviet system must not necessarily adhere to rigid, restrictive criteria but can be led with intelligence so as to achieve a certain measure of stability and popular approval. In this sense, "kadarized" Hungary might serve as a possible alternative and a sign of hope for reformers; but only a few of the present institutions are suitable for transfer to other countries. In every other East European nation it looks as if the local factors are strong enough to prevent any successful transplantation. In the GDR, for example, the leadership's fears brought on by a lack of legitimacy and the existence of an attractive German alternative in the West have combined to stifle any desire for experimentation for 20 years. In Czechoslovakia the situation is similar--the only difference being that there is discord among the leadership which is therefore afraid of all change; a legacy of 1968-69. The Bulgarian leadership, on the other hand, is successful enough in its own right to be impervious to any kind of experimentation. Poland, where many reformers inside the system are casting an envious eye on Hungary, is still living in a state of uncertainty which is characterized by disunity among the leaders and the elite generally and profound dissatisfaction among the people. In Romania, political and economic decay are so far advanced and the continued existence of the system is so much dependent on the inflated leadership of Ceausescu and his family while the use of force is so widespread that change on the basis of the Hungarian model is simply inconceivable. The Soviet Union, finally, differs in so many respects so radically from Hungary--in geographic size, social structure, traditional concentration of power and subservience to authority--that any application of the Hungarian experiment is unlikely to offer much chance of success.

All in all, the Kadar system in Hungary--as attractive as it may appear to Western commentators--has little to offer to other Soviet-type systems--all the more so, since its continued existence depends on far too many factors beyond the control of Hungarian society. If change ever comes to the nations of Eastern Europe, it will be the result of indigenous needs and traditions and not of the persuasiveness of foreign models.

# FOOTNOTES

1. My definition of a Soviet-type system is based specifically on Jadwiga Staniszkis, "Martial Law in Poland," TELOS, No 54, Winter 1982/83, pp 87-100.
2. Marc Rakovski, "Toward an Eastern European Marxism," London, 1978.
3. I have dealt with political disintegration in East Europe in greater detail in "The Political Structure of Eastern Europe as a Factor in Interbloc Relations" in Karen Dawisha and Philip Hanson /eds/, "Soviet-East European Dilemmas: Coercion, Competition and Consent," London, 1981.
4. A detailed analysis of Hungary under Kadar is contained in Bennet Kovrig, "Communism in Hungary: From Kun to Kadar," Stanford, 1979 and Peter Toma and Ivan Volgyes, "Politics in Hungary," San Francisco, 1975.
5. This analysis is taken in part from Ferenc Feher, "Kadarism as the Model State of Khrushchevism," TELOS, No 40, Summer 1979, pp 19-40 and Istvan Kemeny, "Hol tart a tarsadalmi kompromisszum Magyar-oroszagon?" MAGYAR FUZETEK I, Paris, pp 21-46.
6. For an analysis of Hungarian agriculture and corresponding political strategies, see Stephen White, John Gardner and George Schopflin, "Communist Political Systems: An Introduction," London, 1982, pp 188-20. Also, Helmut Klocke, "Zur landlichen Struktur in Ungarn" /Agricultural Structure in Hungary/, OSTEUROPA, No 33:2, 1983, pp 145-152 and Tibor Kovacsy, "La liberte surveillee des paysans hongrois" /The Supervised Freedom of Hungarian Farmers/, L'ALTERNATIVE, No 20, January/February 1983, pp 26-30.
7. Janos Kenedi, "Do It Yourself: Hungary's Hidden Economy," London, 1981; Istvan R. Gabor and Peter Galasi, "A'masodik' gazdasag," Kozgazdasagi es Jogi, Budapest, 1981; Istvan Kemeny, "The Unregistered Economy in Hungary," SOVIET STUDIES, No 34:3, 1982, pp 349-366.
8. Ferenc Feher, Agens Heller and Gyorg Markus, "Dictatorship over Needs," Oxford, 1983; Kalman Kulcsar, "A mai magyar tarsadalom," Budapest, 1983.
9. Some other studies worth noting are: Tamas Bauer, "A masodik gazdasagi reform es a tulajdonviszonyok," MOZGO VILAG, No 8:11, 1982, pp 23-44; Csaba Gombar, "Bukas vagy vereseg? Megjegyzesek a magyar reform politikumahoz," UJ FORRAS, No 15:8, 1983, pp 46-55; Sandor Lakos, "Politikai rendszerunk kerdesei," Budapest, 1983.
10. ELET ES IRODALOM, 23 Sep 83.
11. Cf arguments used by Mihaly Vajda in "The State and Socialism," London, 1981, pp 132-141.

9478/12228

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## FOREIGN TRADE DATA FOR NINE MONTH PERIOD IN 1985

Sofia IZNOS I VNOS in Bulgarian No 3, 1985 p 3

[Text] The participation of the Bulgarian People's Republic in the international division of labor is increasing steadily. In the first 9 months of 1985 the country's foreign trade totaled 19.6 billion foreign exchange leva, or 6.1 percent increase over the same period in 1984. During the first 9 months of the year goods worth 383.4 million FEL [Foreign Exchange Leva] were exported; imports totaled 746.6 million FEL more than during the comparable period in 1984.

The increase in trade is the result of the steadily increasing pace of trade with the socialist countries, the CEMA countries above all. The volume of reciprocal trade with this group of countries reached 15.0 billion FEL or 76.6 percent of the country's total trade. Bulgaria's main foreign trade partners were the USSR, with 11.3 billion FEL, followed by the GDR, 965.6 million FEL; Czechoslovakia, 839.4 million FEL; Poland, 734.9 million FEL, and others.

Our trade with the nonsocialist countries is also developing on a mutually profitable basis. In the first 9 months of this year trade with such countries exceeded 4.3 billion FEL, or 8.7 percent more than during the comparable period in 1984.

Compared with last year, our trade with developed capitalist countries increased significantly as follows: Italy, 43.3 percent; Greece, 35.6 percent; Great Britain, 23.9 percent; United States, 77.1 percent, and others.

Our trade relations with the developing countries are expanding dynamically. Trade with these countries exceeded 2.1 billion FEL, or a 9.1 percent increase compared with the first 9 months of 1984. During the first 9 months of this year the volume of trade was significant with the following countries: Libya, 734.6 million FEL; Algeria, 94.0 million FEL; Brazil, 71.5 million FEL; Egypt, 64.2 million FEL; India, 64.3 million FEL; Iraq, 232.0 million FEL; Iran, 216.0 million FEL; Turkey, 118.0 million FEL, and others.

The trend which was set during the 8th Five-Year Plan of steadily upgrading the share of highly processed commodities was clear also for the 9 months of 1985. The share of machines and equipment for industrial purposes totaled 51.7 percent of overall exports, as compared to 46.5 percent for the first 9 months of 1984. Fuels, mineral raw materials, metals, foodstuffs and



industrial consumer goods (noncomestible) also accounted for a significant share of exported items.

The highest share of imported goods was that of fuels, mineral raw materials and metals, accounting for 48.2 percent, and machines and equipment for industrial purposes, 33.3 percent.

Compared with the same period in 1984, exports of a number of commodities were increased in the first 9 months of 1985, including drills, pumps, television relays, motor cars, electric meters, pressure gauges, tractors, T-V-shaped iron, and others. Compared with the first 9 months of 1984, exports of metal cutting machines, items produced by the electrical engineering industry, agricultural machinery, coke, coal, goods produced by the metallurgical industry, raw materials for light industry, consumer goods, and others, increased.

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## SYSTEM OF CONSUMER GOODS SALES WITH FOREIGN CURRENCY REORGANIZED

Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian 16 Dec 85 p 10

[Information by Dimitur Dzhambazov, general director of the Korekom VTO [Foreign Trade Trust]: "At Korekom Starting with 1 January"]

[Text] What changes will be made at Korekom? Will they affect the trade and economic foundations on which this foreign trade organization is built? Or will they apply exclusively to retail trade? A representative of the editors discussed these problems with Dimitur Dzhambazov, general director of the Korekom VTO.

Naturally, Korekom will remain a foreign trade organization of the Bulgarian Association for Tourism and Recreation, with its network of stores throughout the country. No other way would be possible. We are a tourist country with hospitably opened doors to millions of guests from abroad; furthermore, it would be unnatural for Bulgarian citizens to be unable to shop in Bulgaria using legitimately earned foreign currency. The general director emphasized that the changes are made necessary by the need to introduce better order in the work of foreign exchange stores, block illegal purchases and possibilities of obtaining unearned income using foreign exchange acquired through illegal deals by unconscientious citizens.

Starting with 1 January 1986 the right of exchanging up to \$150 for coupons without proof of the origin of the currency will be abolished. Bulgarian citizens will be able to pay for purchases from Korekom stores only with bank transfers or personal checks accompanied by a check card and an internal passport. The current coupons may be used until the end of 1986. As in the past, Bulgarian citizens will not be allowed to make purchases by paying cash in foreign currency.

Foreign citizens will use the separate foreign exchange stores which will be concentrated in tourist complexes, customs areas, hotels, and roadside institutions. Sales may be made against convertible currency in cash and presentation of a passport.

The system of imported goods will apply for goods purchased at foreign currency stores in the country, i.e., it will be forbidden to sell them to other individuals for the first three years after their purchase.

The sale of medicinal drugs with foreign exchange, so far under the charge of another trade organization, will be stopped as of 1 January. Henceforth no foreign exchange stores other than those of Korekom and the stores for personnel within the system of the Ministry of Transport, who travel abroad, will exist. The foreign exchange stores of Industrialimport, Mineralsuvenir, Valentina and Balkan will be closed down. Bulgarian economic organizations will be able to engage in trade in foreign exchange on a commission basis with the Korekom VTO.

Dimitur Dzhambazov reported that the Council of Ministers decree makes it incumbent upon the foreign trade organization to continue to improve the organization and forms of sale against foreign exchange by expanding trade based on catalogs, samples, etc. The network of stores will be reassessed and inefficient stores will be closed down.

It is clear that Korekom's trend of supplying goods and selling them in accordance with contemporary worldwide commercial experience will continue. Let us add more to the general director's statement by mentioning that in the opinion of representatives of companies with which this foreign trade organization maintains business relations, of late its flexible and able commercial approach has intensified. Changes in consumer demand are taken into consideration and global trends of price differentials among the various groups of goods are followed; seasonal price reductions and other methods are being applied.

Worth mentioning is the statement of the general director to the effect that the better the quality of the goods supplied to specific sectors in our market, the lower the sales volume of Korekom becomes. Without wishing Korekom any commercial failures, we would be happy to see more such cases and opportunities for comparison.

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## SOVIET AMBASSADOR GREKOV DWELLS ON ECONOMIC COOPERATION

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 2 Dec 85 pp 1,4

[Article by Leonid Grekov, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the USSR in the People's Republic of Bulgaria: "Course toward accelerated development", on the eve of the opening of Days of Soviet Science and Technology]

[Text] We are truly living at a historic and crucial time. The Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries have taken the strategic course of fundamental acceleration of socioeconomic development and of qualitative transformation of all aspects of life of society. We have taken a decisive course toward the innovative, toward all-round development of the creative initiative of millions, toward the bold search for the most effective ways for socialist management.

As the general secretary of the CC of the CPSU (Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union), M.K. Gorbachev, emphasized at the April (1985) plenum of the CC of the CPSU, the tasks required for acceleration of scientific and technological progress are so pressing that we must act without losing time. The party links the fundamental acceleration of scientific and technological progress to the determined reorientation of investment and organizational policy, emphasizing the technological transformation of existing firms. The party is setting the task of transition from the evolutionary perfection of existing technology and partial modernization of machinery and equipment to revolutionary changes that will guarantee transition toward principally new technological systems, based on the most up-to-date technology and guaranteeing the greatest efficiency.

In the further acceleration of the socioeconomic development of our country, we are attaching importance to improved planning, guaranteeing a balanced, complex development of the national economy, perfecting the system of state administration, introducing economic methods of management, developing and expanding socialist economic integration and all-round cooperation with the socialist countries.

Acceleration of scientific and technological progress encompasses a wide range of economic, organizational, social, administrative and other problems. It

affects every element of the national economy of the USSR and every labor collective.

Resolution of the task of accelerated transformation of production is inconceivable without the accelerated development of machine building. In the draft of the Fundamental Directions of the Economic and Social Development of the USSR from 1986 through 1990, and for the period upto the year 2000, we plan first of all to guarantee the radical reconstruction and streamlined development of the machine building complex; above all, of manufacturing machinery, production of computer technology, toolmaking, and the electrotechnical and electronic industry. These sectors must develop 1.3 to 1.6 times faster than the average rates of development of machine building as a whole.

We have already begun to take concrete steps in this direction. The Central Committee of the CPSU and the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union recently made a series of resolutions to accelerate the development of key sectors of machine building in the national economy, such as automation of production, rotor and rotor-conveyor belts, and the production and utilization of computer technology. These steps are designed to create new technological processes, including automated factories that work on so-called peopleless technology. In this way, the reorganization and reconstruction of the machine building complex will guarantee the technological improvement of the entire national economy in our country.

The CPSU attaches prime importance to the concentration of efforts of the fraternal socialist countries in the key directions of scientific and technological progress determined at the high-level economic conference of the member countries of CEMA (Council for Economic Mutual Assistance) held last year in Moscow. The scientific, technological and manufacturing potential of the member countries of CEMA will be concentrated in five directions that have been given priority: electronics, automation, atomic power, new materials and technology and biotechnology.

In keeping with the resolutions of the conference, we are now developing a complex program of scientific and technological progress in the fraternal countries upto the year 2000. In the Soviet Union, we consider this an important factor in fulfilling the strategic task of accelerating the socioeconomic development of the country and a great stride along the road toward further expansion of the process of integration between the countries of the socialist community.

Consolidating their efforts, our states have set themselves the task of taking the first places in the world for strategic directions, and this task is being fulfilled successfully. As M.C. Gorbachev said a few days ago to the deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, "in recent months, political and economic ties between the countries of the socialist community have been intensified and expanded. We have developed long-term programs for cooperation in the sphere of economics and scientific and technological progress. We have created a mechanism for specific, operational ties, and coordination of foreign policy has become closer. Meetings of the leaders of

the fraternal countries in Moscow, Warsaw, Sofia and Prague were important phases on the road to further unification of the socialist community".

In resolving the issues of acceleration of socioeconomic development, there are great opportunities for further expanding multilateral and bilateral cooperation between the fraternal socialist countries. This is absolutely the case for scientific and technological cooperation between the USSR and the PRB (People's Republic of Bulgaria). At the February plenum of the CC of the BCP (Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party) in 1985, it was emphasized that the scientific and technological revolution conforms most fully to contemporary social progress in the interests of socialism. "In the present conditions," emphasized Todor Zhivkov at the plenum "in bringing about a scientific and technological revolution, we shall build an advanced socialist society. And, conversely, by building advanced socialism here, we shall bring about a scientific and technological revolution." According to Todor Zhivkov's intention, that will provide the opportunity to make a breakthrough in the decisive sectors of the country's economy.

In the PRB, a positive experience has already been made in industrial production, agriculture, science and other spheres of public life. In recent years, extensive experiments have been made in the country to improve the economy, to introduce the economic approach and its mechanism in the sectors of material production and the non-productive sphere; serious work has been accomplished to improve the quality of production, the organization of labor and the economy of material resources, and to consolidate labor, technological and planning discipline on a contractual basis.

We have adopted the program developed for reorganization of planning and administration of the economy and other spheres of public life on the basis of scientific and technological progress.

In other words, the maturity of the economies of the Soviet Union and Bulgaria now demand persistent improvement of our cooperation based on the achievements of scientific and technological progress which, for its part, will assist in the accelerated socioeconomic development of the two countries. An important prerequisite for the further development of cooperation between the USSR and the PRB was the friendly greeting in fraternal Bulgaria of the General Secretary of the CC of the CPSU, M.C. Gorbachev. The leaders of our countries came to the conclusion that, at the present stage of development, we need "more effective, bolder and more flexible methods of cooperation". The first practical steps were taken at the time of the meeting. An intergovernmental agreement was signed to create two Bulgaro-Soviet scientific production companies in the sphere of machine building. On the basis of the integration of scientific production potential of our countries, we are planning the organization of joint, large-scale serial production of modern, highly productive manufacturing centers, GAPS [not further identified], robots and other scientifically based products.

At the meeting of the two leaders, it was remarked that the expansion of specialization and cooperation of production between the USSR and the PRB demands a constant high standard, excellent quality and reliability of production.

As we all know, many important initiatives have resulted from Bulgaro-Soviet scientific and technological cooperation, which later became very popular within CEMA. It was precisely in this way that the creation of joint Bulgaro-Soviet scientific collectives began, of which there are now more than ten. The application of complex, goal-oriented, programmed planning of scientific and technological ties began for the first time between our two countries. As has already been pointed out, for the first time in the practice of CEMA an agreement has been signed for the creation of two Bulgaro-Soviet scientific production companies. We are considering the possibility of building a series of such companies, including those based on joint common ownership. Essentially, such a stage of cooperation between our countries is beginning when its most important form becomes close integration based on direct integration of scientific, technological and production potential.

It is quite obvious that this direction of cooperation contains within it enormous opportunities both for intensifying and further expanding our economic ties, and for accelerating the development of science and technology in the two countries. In the following 5-year plan we shall develop jointly about 300 problems and topics, including 50 most important inter-sector problems of science and technology. Academicians in both countries have agreed upon seven complex goal-oriented programs of cooperation and 19 large-scale problems. A significant part of the subject-matter is directed toward the decisive increase in the quality and technical standard of products made in our countries based on specialization and cooperation.

Scientific and technological progress, cooperation in the sphere of science and technology have become today the mainstay of reciprocity between our countries, since they are conducive to the achievement of the highest world level of joint production. The Days of Soviet Science and Technology that open tomorrow in the PRB are dedicated to the discovery of new resources and opportunities for this cooperation.

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## NUTRITIONAL DIET JUDGED UNSATISFACTORY

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 2 Dec 85 p 5

[Article by Prof Khristo Khadzhinikolov: "A Costly Profit: Meatless Dishes -- the Bulgarian People's Traditional Food", under the rubric "Market, Goods, Services." Passages in slantlines rendered in boldface in text.]

[Text] Food is fundamental to the correct development of the human organism, to maintaining its working capacity and creating greater resistance to harmful factors in the course of work and in the environment. For many years, the workers and the rising population of bourgeois Bulgaria consumed less than the required amount of animal proteins on account of the difficult material situation. For this reason, from the very first years of the revolution of the 9th of September, the party began to conduct a policy of accelerated development of the sources of animal protein. As a result, only in the last 14 years (1984 compared with 1970), the consumption of meat per capita has grown by 171.5 percent, of eggs -- by 194.3 percent and of milk -- by 158.9 percent. With that, objective conditions were created as early as the 8th 5-year plan for the consumption of meat per capita to come as close as possible to the rational norm. The average per capita consumption of meat during 1984 was 71 kg, compared with the norm of 80 kg.

However, the consumption of vegetables /lagged considerably behind the rational norm/.

During 1984, compared with a norm of 180 kg per capita, it was only 104 kg; and for fruit, compared with a norm of 200 kg, it was only 116 kg.

Everyone knows that fresh vegetables are a very valuable and cheap food. They are rich in vitamins, mineral salts and fiber, absolutely necessary for people today who lead less active lives.

Milk and milk products contain valuable animal proteins. In 1984 we consumed on average 186 liters per capita, or 71.5 per cent of the norm. It should be pointed out too that we are considerably behind some other socialist countries in our consumption of milk. In the USSR, the consumption of milk is over 310 liters per capita, and in Poland -- around 450 liters. A fundamental reason for this lagging behind is that in our restaurants and cafeterias, in which



over 2.2 million workers, students and employees eat every day, milk is offered mainly fresh and as yogurt, and rarely in milk foods and desserts.

Our people continue to call meatless dishes lenten fare, because through the long years of poverty which have accompanied them, they have used very little fat. With the aim of enriching the contents of meatless vegetable dishes by using animal proteins and improving the quality of taste, 5 or 6 years ago a group of scientists and the best preparers of national meatless vegetable dishes were assigned the task of examining recipes and enriching them with milk, butter and eggs, without reducing their vegetable content. These recipes were approved and published in a separate book in a general collection of recipes for public eating places. However, they found little application on /purely economic grounds/.

It is worth remarking, that in recent years other socialist countries have been introducing a policy of encouraging the production and consumption of meatless vegetable dishes, and in 1984 the USSR published a book on the modern vegetarian kitchen. The number of overweight people has not yet become a national problem here as in some other socialist countries. However, investigations in the okrugs of Pleven, Burgas, Blagoevgrad and Tolbukhin have shown that in the population at large, on average one in five is overweight. One of the reasons for this is the wide-spread consumption of baked goods that are rich in butter and sugar. Frequenters of our pastry shops grow fat very rapidly. But they are only offered "heavy" pastries, cakes and other desserts. As early as 10 years ago, the Scientific Center for Trade and Public Catering developed the recipes and the technology for low calorie fruit desserts. It turned out that they were very tasty, well received by consumers and less labor-intensive compared with normal cakes and pastries. However, there is one insurmountable obstacle to their mass production -- they are cheap, and make it more difficult to fulfil the plan for commodity circulation and profit.

In several party documents and in the theses of the 12th congress of the party, public catering was assigned the task of rapidly increasing the quantity and assortment of meatless cooking products. To date, /the results remain unsatisfactory/ because the objective obstacles of an economic nature have not been removed. Basically there are two obstacles:

The sale of meatless vegetable dishes, which are very labor-intensive and considerably cheaper than meat dishes, realizes little commodity circulation and profit. This contradicts the economic interests of the public catering firms. Profit is a fundamental factor in setting up a larger residual results-based fund -- salary -- and the mark-ups determined for meatless dishes are not economically well-founded. In order to provide a greater supply of tasty meatless dishes, enriched with milk and eggs according to the new recipes, we must correct their mark-ups, taking full account of their actual expenses. Another way to resolve the problem is to increase the trade discounts on vegetables, milk and eggs, for public catering, only, and to reduce the discounts on beer and spirits on which the public catering firms are now making a considerable profit with fewer labor expenses. We should bear in mind that in the USSR the trade discounts on food products for the state public catering firms are considerably higher than those granted to the stores network.

With the system of labor compensation in the public catering establishments that is now proposed, the size of the results-based salary fund is determined from the rate (percent) in financial terms of the commodity circulation realized. This provides an economic incentive for the working collective to sell the more expensive meat dishes and to avoid offering the cheap dishes. With the aim of eliminating this anomaly, the 53rd decree of the Council of Ministers of 14 September 1985, has set the task of introducing labor compensation in public catering /subject to production realized in kind/ and of stimulating production and supply of meatless, milk, egg and fish dishes.

The simplest and most effective incentive system for labor compensation in the spirit of this decree can be achieved by moving away from a rate of realization of commodity circulation of 100 leva, as an expression of value, toward a conventional commodity circulation, i.e. toward a rate per 100 conventional portions of dishes sold. A similar conventional commodity circulation has long been used here to classify eating establishments in connection with the salary rate for the manager and head chef.

With the formation of a salary fund in individual public catering firms on a results-based rate per 100 realized conventional portions of dishes and desserts, we shall stimulate, on the one hand, production and supply of meatless vegetable dishes and fruit desserts, and, on the other hand, a greater turnover of private pastry and culinary production, instead of industrially produced food products.

The proposed system for determining a salary fund will also provide an incentive to cafeteria workers to prepare meatless and more labor-intensive dishes which are now avoided given the existing periodic bonus system of labor compensation. It will also have a stimulating effect on culinary production in the tourist resorts where, for the same reasons, meat dishes are chiefly offered now.

The production of tasty meatless vegetable dishes and fruit desserts requires greater culinary craftsmanship. It is well known that dishes are tastier with the addition of meat, even when the chef is less well qualified. This means that, parallel with the removal of obstacles of an economic nature from the production of a wide assortment of meatless dishes, we must conduct courses to acquire craftsmanship in such dishes according to the new recipes. Those who complete the courses successfully would receive a certificate and their salary would be increased by 15 to 20 leva as an incentive to production.

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## CRITICAL STATE OF WATER RESOURCES EXAMINED

Sofia NARODNA MLADEZH in Bulgarian 1 Dec 85 p 3

[Article by Lyudmila Paunovski: "Dried-Up Springs". Passages in slantlines rendered in boldface or italics in text.]

[Text] There isn't enough water! Have we done everything to discover it? The reserve of small water sources.

The prolonged drought forces us once more to recall certain well-known truths. The most important is: Bulgaria is one of the countries in Europe with the poorest water resources. According to data published in the bulletins of the Committee on Water Problems at the Economic Commission for Europe, the annual per capita rainfall here is 2230 cubic meters, whereas in our neighboring countries alone this figure is 10,600 cubic meters for Rumania and 12,250 cubic meters for Yugoslavia. Moreover, our water is unevenly distributed and subject to considerable seasonal variations. But our water needs are constantly growing. This is why various calculations are made which we can't be happy about. They indicate that, if around 1990 we come up against another drought, compared with our needs at that time there will be a clear deficit of 2 billion cubic meters of water. Toward the end of the century, this deficit could reach double the figure!

/There is, and there isn't./ In normal years, we have 386 liters of drinking water per capita per day! But the sums don't add up! They are simply not accurate! Because from that amount, 275 liters go to satisfy the needs of industry and the public sector! In Sofia itself during the hot and dry August, 611 liters were secured per 24 hours for every inhabitant. At the same time, two-and-a-half million cubic meters of drinking water were fed into the L.I. Brezhnev construction and installation combine alone, and other manufacturing companies took just as much. None of them fulfilled the instructions for exploration of their own water sources on time.

In Sofia there are about 200,000 cars. Let's suppose that 10 liters of water per day are needed to wash every one of them. In spite of fines and bans, car-washing continues because there are few state wash areas, and then the agencies of the Control of Automotive Transport are entitled to give punitive sanctions for driving a dirty vehicle. Is it really so difficult for

every regional people's council in the capital to set aside at least one square where they can dig out several wells and install car washes.

And there are other paradoxes. By law, the reservoirs for drinking water in inhabited places must contain 30 percent of a 24-hour consumption so that, if needs be, peak consumption can be met. But only about 20 percent of the settlements in the country that are supplied with water have reservoirs, which contain on average barely 7 to 8 percent of a 24-hour consumption. Which means that even at normal source capacity there is an apparent, planned shortage of drinking water at peak hours, not to mention the drought years.

The moment is clearly ripe for the designers of water supply to develop projects in such a way that they take into account the seasonal satisfaction of needs. That is, alongside the basic water source to request information and include in the project local water sources which also replenish the settlement reservoirs of drinking water. These local water sources, which for years on end we ignored under the pretext that they were small, would assist in surmounting the periodic crises, especially during the hot summer months.

/With tradition toward the future/ The need for industrial companies to secure their own water sources for production was assessed. But why do we continue to ignore the obvious conclusion that we need a full reevaluation of the role and place of small water sources to meet our needs of drinking water and relatively clean water for agriculture? According to different information, half a century ago there were around 500,000 such small water sources in our country -- wells, fountains, springs and reservoirs -- which met the drinking and daily needs of a large part of the population. How many are left today?

We have seen in old newsreels the genuine joy that people show when water is piped in. Eventually, the yokes and buckets will be forgotten; we have only to turn the little faucet and the life-giving moisture is in our homes. But why is a peculiar nihilism beginning to spread, somehow unnoticed, toward the small water sources that have served generations on end? Faucets arrive in rural homes and we forget the well! This is not just a play on words\*. The wells are beginning to be filled up en masse. In places, the unthinkable has already occurred -- they have been turned into septic pits, and the pollution has been seeping into entire water terraces. The piped springs with crystal clear water have not been maintained. Many of them have been forgotten and no longer hold water. Hundreds of fountains have been neglected and destroyed, some of which were cultural monuments connected with the history and development of our people.

In the past, excavating a well, cleaning a spring or building a fountain was considered a moral duty. It was a tradition for young people with the means, when gathered to go carolling or carousing at New Year, to build fountains. Today, the tradition is not entirely forgotten. In honor of some sports or recreational holiday, the Fatherland Front and Komsomol organizations build fountains and arrange rest areas around them. Last year alone, with the help of the BTU (Bulgarian Tourist Union) and the participation of tourists, 65 mountain fountains were constructed and another 11 were raised in honor of the 90th anniversary of the Organized Tourist Movement.

/Hunters and fishermen prepared for the 100-year jubilee of their union by building over 1500 new fountains. On the initiative of the settlement leadership and with the help of volunteer work days, 6 fountains have been renovated in the village of Suedineniye, near Turgovishte. Still more enthralling is the example of the town of Pliska. Of 400 wells which have met the town's water needs for centuries, over 300 have been restored!/

And yet so often such phenomena are incidental, they have not become practice, nor have they been recognized as necessary. There are plenty of obstacles of all types. Let's say that some young nature-lovers decide to explore unknown springs, old fountains and filled-in wells. They would be a chief moving force in a settlement system in such a campaign which could be combined with getting to know the historic past, developing a sense of patriotism and love for the native land.

But doesn't someone, above all the people's councils, have to specify in which regions we should concentrate our efforts first of all. Where water provision is most pressing! Don't we need a guarantee that the search for small water sources is not simply to give an account of activities but will be of real purpose. Because many of these water sources are in regions where almost no-one lives any longer. And don't we need prospecting technology, and a guarantee of at least the minimum resources, such as raw materials and equipment. And let's not forget laboratory tests for the suitability of the water that is found.

In this way, the enthusiasm and amateur activities in the exploration of new small water sources and the renovation of old sources must give way to organized activity, in which the people's councils are obliged to play a major role. In every settlement system special groups can be set up to index all necessary small water sources and note by region the need to discover new ones. They should be plotted on a map and concrete time limits outlined for them to be brought into effect.

This can be done through a special program which obliges departments, economic, sociopolitical and popular organizations and individual citizens to participate actively in this activity. Specialists should develop projects to give the final touches to vertical and horizontal surveying of water sources, and when construction itself begins, which above all should be done by volunteer work or the resources of individual companies, the people's council should guarantee the technical safeguards and leadership.

Then, pioneer, battalion and comsomol organizations will take the lead in discovering and protecting small water sources locally. And we shall guarantee resources through campaigns for gathering the secondary raw materials, and students themselves will be active helpers in building and developing the surrounding area. This could soon become reality if we take to heart the resolution of the Public Committee for the Defence of Nature, the National Commission for Construction, Planning and Sanitation of Settlement Systems at the NU of the FF (National Union of the Fatherland Front) and the National Council on Water for rational use of water from local water sources.

World practice shows that a water crisis is more easily overcome with small water sources. Our needs in drinking water and water for every-day use are almost soluble in recreational and tourist areas and in the private economy, especially in less populated areas, as are the needs for industrial water.

That is the simple truth, which we have to recognize -- the people's councils, economic, sociopolitical and popular organizations, all of us. Let's bring back the water to the springs and fountains, to the reservoirs and wells!

\* Pun on the Bulgarian words for faucet and well.

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## DIFFICULTIES AT MARITSA-IZTOK POWER STATION SURVEYED

Sofia OTECHESTVO in Bulgarian No 22, 26 Nov 85 pp 13, 15

[Article by Valentin Markov: "Maritsa-Iztok on the Eve of the New Winter"]

[Text] Last winter, when the shortage of electric power excited the spirit of the people, the names of the three power plants of the Maritsa-Iztok Economic Mining-Power Combine (SMEK) turned into adjectives. All of a sudden from something abstract, something seemingly remote from daily life, they acquired a very substantive, and even fatal significance. Was there an adequate supply of coal, had the conveyor belts thawed out, were questions with which every bit of news coming from Maritsa-Iztok was welcomed. Was the significance of the combine in terms of national power supplies been exaggerated at that time? Perhaps. Nevertheless, when 20 percent of the electric power production declines by nearly one-half... Furthermore, part of the problems which faced the power plants of Maritsa-Iztok were problems affecting other Bulgarian thermoelectric power plants as well. That is why, on the eve of the new and, according to forecasts, equally severe winter, the following question is entirely legitimate: Are they ready to welcome the cold and the snow and to react to all the whims of nature and technological surprises?

Purva Komsomolska TETs

This is the oldest thermoelectric power plant in the complex with the lowest power-generating capacity (400 megawatts). It uses predried coal. A high percentage of the equipment is old, which leads to an increase in the number of breakdowns. Until 17 February 1985 the power plant worked relatively well. After that, however, the daily load began to drop, and so did the supply of industrial steam to the only briquettes factory in the country. The reasons? In addition to the worsened technical condition of the equipment, caused by insufficient repairs in previous years, major problems were developed in the fuel oil systems. Instead of reaching the necessary 150 degrees, the fuel was heated to 80 degrees C, which resulted in overexpenditures and reduced power. At low temperatures the recording instruments of the end boilers froze. Without them, however, maintaining an optimal system is difficult....

Today the mood at the Purva Komsomolska TETs is different. Two additional heaters and a fuel oil pump have been installed, and the recording instruments at the boilers have been insulated. Substantial repairs were carried out at the fuel supply and boiler shop. However, boiler repairs will continue until

the beginning of 1986 and it is only then that the boiler shop will have equipment in relatively good technical condition.

What else remains to be done? The most concerning feature is the lagging in the implementation of the repair program at the drying shop. Work intervals between repairs are violated and the shop is still not ready under winter conditions. Another cause for concern is the state of the controlling systems of turbogenerators Nos 5 and 6. As a whole, little has been done at the power plant to insulate pipes, core samplers and pulse lines. There simply are not enough workers, for some 60 people are needed for insulation work alone. Obviously, the combine's management and the Ministry of Power Industry must react quickly.

In conclusion: in the 1985/1986 winter season the Purva Komsomolska TETs will have equipment whose technical condition will be relatively satisfactory. This will make it possible to maintain an average hourly load of 250 megawatts and, at peak times up to 280 megawatts excluding the first turbine, and respectively, 340 and 380 megawatts with turbine No 1.

#### Dimo Dichev TETs

At this power plant we clearly felt the tension under which Bulgarian power workers are operating. We began by attending the meeting of the party committee which was precisely engaged in a discussion of the extent of readiness for the winter in all aspects. Perhaps because the power plant was, until recently, the largest and newest in the complex or perhaps because last winter it had "suffered the most," the statements of workers and managers showed concern for the course of preparations. An unsatisfactory assessment of accomplishments was provided in a self-critical spirit.

Yet, a great deal had been accomplished. Within a short time, from March to October, repair operations which should have been carried out for the entire 8 preceding years had been completed. As a result of uninterrupted operations, without reserves and basic repairs, most of the main equipment had broken down as early as the beginning of last winter. That forced the Council of Ministers to approve a special repair organization. Hundreds of skilled workers were assigned from neighboring okrugs and considerable funds and technical facilities were appropriated. Therefore, by the end of November, the basic repair activities for the four blocks will have been completed. The power plant will meet the winter in a renovated and good technical condition, which will enable it to maintain an average hourly load of about 680 megawatts. No less important social problems must be resolved, such as heat at the work places, winter clothing and the condition of the auxiliary equipment.

#### Maritsa-Iztok 2 TETs

Following the commissioning of power block No 6 on 30 September 1985, the overall generating capacity of the power plant reached 1,020 megawatts. The question now is whether it will be able to maintain its planned high average



annual load during the winter or whether despite its expansion and reconstruction problems will remain.

Last winter, coal supplies created the greatest difficulties at the Maritsa-Iztok 2 TETs. The old conveyors from the drying plant, which were extremely unreliable, were used. The worst point was reached when the coal was being fed through a single underground conveyor belt, at which point the load dropped to 200 megawatts and the fuel oil was almost exhausted....These weaknesses are now considered eliminated. A new system has been applied for supplying the coal with the help of new conveyor belts. Nevertheless, during the forthcoming months as well, supplying the coal will remain the main problem. Coal reserves are insufficient (because of unfinished construction around the open-air warehouse). The second crane which receives and processes the coal has not been installed and some of the conveyor belts have not been completed. Here as well the reason is the scarcity of workers, for the large construction and repair program is absorbing all available manpower. Nevertheless, the condition of the plant is much better compared with last year.

#### Necessary Summations

Any visitor of the Maritsa-Iztok SMEK today can see the stressed and responsible work being done. This covers everyone, workers and directors, and not only the power plant, but the mines and repair enterprises as well. A great deal is being expected of the type of organization which has been created (with continuing control, guard duty, etc.). However, winter is already knocking at the door. Let us, therefore, look at the overall picture.

**Coal:** In terms of this combine, this problem has been resolved; coal reserves are insufficient only for the Maritsa-Iztok 2 TETs and regular and direct supplies must be organized. According to Engineer Zhivko Stoyanov, Maritsa-Iztok SMEK deputy director, coal supplies will be organized on a rhythmical basis.

**Fuel oil:** Considerable overexpenditures in fuel oil occurred last winter because of difficult operating conditions; the power plants are currently trying to catch up. At the Dima Dichev TETs, for example, daily fuel oil expenditures averaged between 5 and 10 tons. This is a good result and proof of the great importance of capital repairs in saving on liquid fuels. Reserves, however, remain insufficient.

**Spare parts:** Most of the operational engines have already been amortized. The solution of this problem remains outside of the power plants' possibilities.

**Manpower:** All in all, the combine needs some 1,200 new workers. The most difficult is the situation at the Maritsa-Iztok TETs, which is short of 400 to 500 workers, mainly for the two new blocks. It is hoped that the new Council of Ministers decree, which raises the salaries of power workers, will resolve this and many other problems.

Discipline and skills: These problems largely depend on the power plant's leaderships. Sometimes high rates are awarded undeservedly in order to keep the people on their jobs. Some repair workers do not use their working time efficiently and frequent breakdowns lower discipline in the shops. Maintning the expensive equipment requires high work skills, for, in the words of one of the directors, a system in a good technical condition could break down in a matter of minutes as a result of carelessness or incompetence.

In the future (something which must be done!) the individual contribution of every worker, and his ability and knowledge will be studied closely. Courses will be offered and tests given, and the hundreds of expected workers will be trained.

One may say that the lessons from the difficulties in electric power production, which occurred at the beginning of the year, have been learned and the mechanism for their elimination has been put in place. We are on the right way. Everything else depends on the efforts of the individual workers.

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ECONOMY

BULGARIA

## READERS' LETTERS EXPOSE EMBEZZLEMENT, THEFTS, SQUANDERING

Editorial Comment

Sofia ANTENI in Bulgarian 4 Dec 85 p 4

[Text] The headline of this page "People Protecting Themselves From Prying Eyes" was borrowed from a reader's letter published ANTENI No 45, written on the subject of the article "A Needle Pinned on the Lapel." Entitled "The Protection of Socialist Property is Everyone's Concern and Responsibility," the letter commented on cases of abuse in stores and public catering institutions which employ husband and wife couples, entire families or other relatives. The editors are continuing to receive letters describing attitudes not only concerning "family businesses and dealers with wedding rings," but, generally, violations of legality, abuses and encroachments harming national property. Following are some of them.

### Prosecutor's Investigation

Sofia ANTENI in Bulgarian 4 Dec 85 p 4

[Letter by Genko Angelov, rayon prosecutor]

[Text] Allow me to inform you of the following on the subject of the letter of a group of sales clerks at the Vit supermarket of the Food Products Trade Enterprise, under the title of "No One is Interested;" a preliminary investigation is being conducted by the economic department of the Plevan Okrug MVR administration and the State Financial Control Office in Plevan, based on the complaints filed by Stoykova, Kostova and Khristova.

An investigation is also under way on the grounds for which the chief accountant ordered that the wages of the sales clerks be withheld. The filers of the complaint will be informed in writing of the results of the investigation and the opinion of the prosecutor's office.

## Sales Clerks' Abuses

Sofia ANTENI in Bulgarian 4 Dec 85 p 4

[Letter by Radoslav Tsvetkov]

[Text] I shall not attempt to retell the content of the article "Needle Pinned on the Lapel." For a long time this newspaper has sounded the alarm on the subject of the recently increased frequency of negative manifestations in trade and public catering. I would like to expand further some aspects of the appropriation phenomenon with which, in most cases, we somehow try to excuse, to lower the ugliness of the action and to act ethically (here I am, using that undesirable word, which covers almost half of the nature of the matter) toward the violators. What does a violator mean? What does the term "malicious damage" mean, based on the instruction which was quoted? Why is it that a thief--for that is his real description--is to be delivered to the prosecutor's office only after he has "appropriated," and again, forgive me for this borrowed term, no less than 2,000 leva's worth of state and people's property? Jean Valjean suffered for the rest of his life the consequences and the shame of stealing a loaf of bread to meet a vital need. Are our thieves in trade and public catering stealing to meet precisely the same crying needs? Are they dying of hunger or are they walking barefoot and naked on the streets?

Sooner or later, anyone who steals goes to jail. However, are we also not to blame? We have witnessed the way the sales clerk in a supermarket will allow access to the premise behind the counter of someone she knows, and will let people wait in line while she is wrapping up a few large pieces of meat. She does not even weigh them in order not to irritate the waiting customers, but quietly sends her visitor away.

Surpluses? This is another extenuating term. It is not surpluses that are being created but thefts which are being committed. In his aspiration not to be "short," the materially responsible official appropriates the surplus after working time. Have any controlling authorities come to stores after closing time to ask such officials what they are doing?

But does this occur in such places only? What about waiters and people providing communal consumer services?

Obviously, this can no longer be tolerated. Shall we be able to reach the root of this evil? Most certainly yes, if we set ourselves this target. We could also make preventive struggle much more effective. We can also set up and develop a public, a state, a national intolerance of the thief, the bribe taker, the extortionist and, particularly, the recidivist.

How can this be accomplished? In my view, not by waiting until all possible complaints in a case have been received or be satisfied with newspaper publications and think that the culprits have been deservedly punished, but by making it impossible for them to be among us even with the slightest delinquency, for such a person is much more dangerous than a murderer towards whom the law is much stricter, for such a person kills in us the belief that

we can achieve all that he has achieved but honestly. We constantly keep clashing against the tempting standards he maintains. We can see his summer cottage, the cars he keeps changing, and objects bought at Korekom. We also see his arrogance.

We can also find means not to struggle against but to uproot the evil! That is what I suggest to the thousands of readers of this newspaper to think about, so that it may be suggested, considered and legalized as a status, as a code of honor, as an efficient preventive measure.

#### Land and Water Waste

Sofia ANTENI in Bulgarian 4 Dec 85 p 4

[Letter by Radi Georgiev]

[Text] The topic of waste, theft and appropriation could be broadened and some of its other coordinates found. Usually we deal with the basic parts of this problem, for the guilt is obvious and very easy to determine. However, is it not a case of waste when a shortsighted enterprise management has incurred losses in its production activities and failed to fulfill plan indicators? Is it not a waste when funds from the so-called director's fund are being spent on trips, drinks and banquets? Would it not be better for us to be tighter with the money when it is a question of the people's good? We are simply offering some people the possibility of benefiting at the expense of the state in a totally unaccountable fashion.

Since the question of waste is being raised so sharply, we should take a stricter look at other problems. Let us consider, for example, the waste of water and land! The press took up the question of the closed cycle in enterprises. In most areas which require the use of huge amounts of water, recycling has still not become the fashion. However, we should seek the reasons for the drought also by going to those who cut out oak trees and plant pine, who are engaged in "sanitary" cutting in our forests and who are changing the natural ecological conditions of our land. Why is it that so much fertile land is now lost forever under shops and buildings of industrial enterprises and combines? Such an insensible use of the land, as is also the case in the expansion of residential complexes, when cities are built not on their present territories but far outside their limits, is frightening. We are not so rich as to be able to engage in all sorts of indiscriminate wastes.

#### Bribery in Procurement Systems

Sofia ANTENI in Bulgarian 4 Dec 85 p 4

[Letter by Vanya Georgieva, Iliyantsi Residential District, Railroad Blocks]

[Text] I would like to draw attention to something which is an open secret. If a store is well-supplied with goods it means that its manager is dipping in the till not only for himself but also for the so-called placing and procurement workers. No one would bring you goods unless you dipped into the till. How to compensate for such losses subsequently becomes your own

problem. Procurement workers bring the goods, falsify documents and later, in the manager's office and frequently, by the cash register, cash in the "gifts" they have received elsewhere. This is a hint for the manager to contribute his share, something like a rental payment, only not monthly or annual but daily: today from one or several shops, tomorrow from others, in sequence. The chain does not end there but goes higher. The marketing workers also bribe chiefs of warehouses who, in turn, in all likelihood...how many people are thus involved in the game?

Could it be that the procurement and servicing system has something that is not in order and is faulty at its very core? Is the system organized in such a way that honest people who go to work in trade can either not survive or have to adapt? What about those who have already adapted themselves?

The struggle must begin at the roots. The organization must be changed and the system reorganized. This will not be easy!

#### Criminals Must be Named

Sofia ANTENI in Bulgarian 4 Dec 85 p 4

[Letter by Luchiya Petrova]

[Text] There are people who have become accustomed to think that thefts occur exclusively in restaurants and food stores, where surpluses could accumulate! This is not true! Do you know the way furniture is purchased? No theft takes place there, there one pays in cash, perhaps 100 or 150 leva, if one is to buy a piece of furniture directly at the warehouse. One may even give such money to the common laborer who promises to find the item, in which case one may rest assured that he will deliver the money to the proper place. Otherwise, one may keep making the rounds and checking and putting one's name down on waiting lists.

What if someone needs construction material? Could one guess exactly when such materials are available at the warehouses without tipping a few 10-leva notes around? The bribes charged by cab drivers, store keepers and waiters are nothing compared to the harm done to citizens in other areas....With bribery, a tinsmith was able to make several bids for cars which he then sold for double or triple the price. Meanwhile the state authorities shut their eyes. Personnel in rayon councils are bribed to issue housing. Why are such cases not made public? Would public opinion suffer if it is publicly mentioned that someone is a criminal? This, it seems to me, is one of the reasons for the lack of publicity. In my view, the culprits must be clearly named. The roots of violations must be eliminated early and deeply. The entire system for treating the "disease" must be applied if recurrences are to be prevented and the further spread of the disease blocked.

## Culprits Punished

Sofia ANTENI in Bulgarian 4 Dec 85 p 4

[Letter by Nadezhda Kirilova, deputy chairman of the executive committee of the Dimitrov Rayon People's Council]

[Text] Concerning the note entitled "Facts Without Comment" (No 45), we wish to inform the editors that Borislav Ivanov, former manager of Store No 49, 179 An. Zhdanov Street, and his wife Angelina Ivanova were fired because of fund shortages totaling 6,204 leva. Borislav Ivanov was also charged with misappropriating trade funds and delivered to the judicial authorities.

## Supreme Court Justice Comments

Sofia ANTENI in Bulgarian 27 Nov 85 p 2

[Letter by Supreme Court Justice Todor Todorov]

[Text] The article "A Needle Pinned on the Lapel" triggered serious thoughts concerning criminal encroachments in trade, noteworthy for their impudence and scope. It may appear to some that the author selected cases of more notorious economic trials for the sake of creating greater public interest in the topic. This would be naive, for misappropriation cases involving sums ranging between 50,000 and 100,000 leva in trade are being tried on a daily basis by the courts and have long stopped being "sensational." The author is amazed not only by the scale of such crime but also by the strange phenomena which accompany it. He justifiably raises the sensitive yet still unanswered questions of how can economic criminals engage in their "business" "calmly" under socialist conditions? Why is it that after they have been sentenced and deprived of their rights, once again they show up elsewhere as materially responsible individuals and continue to plunder the people's wealth? Where from do they draw their courage?

The questions of the economic negligence of managing and control authorities has been raised frequently. However, this takes place after a major scandal is discovered and both money goods are "already vanished." It was at that point that we discover that someone has made a poor personnel choice and, in violation of Council of Ministers Letter No 127, allowed "devils" to enter the "Garden of Eden." It becomes apparent that others have not checked the accounts of the store manager with the inventory and the actual cash payments. Others again have failed to be impressed by the fact that some stores are always well-supplied with scarce goods and have a high sales turnover, while in their vicinity there are other stores whose clerks remain idle. We are surprised by the fact that some thieves have been audited 7 or 8 times and always cleared. This also affects the law enforcement authorities who have exposed and punished criminals. Journalists express the angry indignation of the public....but what happens at the economic enterprise? The director looks for someone to replace the expelled "devil" and frequently comes across...another "devil." Meanwhile poor management and the carelessness of economic managers and auditors are ignored.

Cases even worse than those described in the article "A Needle Stuck in the Lapel" exist. Take the case of Kol'ov Markov, former director of the Public Catering Economic Enterprise in Dimitrov Rayon in Sofia. He managed his small empire as he wished and according to his own laws. Fierce reprisals were applied against anyone who dared to disobey his orders. He had his own repression authorities for such purposes....

The question is, where do such people get their impudence and confidence? How is it that such responsible economic figures trusted by the state turn into criminals? I do not believe in their sudden transformation. Something sinister and dirty must have been hidden in their hearts. If such is the case, who put them in such positions, who assessed their moral and practical qualities, and who has been observing years on end their economic "scope?" Economic criminals have been given support and confidence by others, concealed behind the social stage....It is not jobs that corrupt people. Thousands of economic managers organize and manage our economy honestly and with dedication. In order to protect their reputations and prestige and stop the efforts of criminals to "redistribute" unofficially the national income, we must dig deeper and reach the very roots of economic crime.

#### More Opinions Needed

Sofia ANTENI in Bulgarian 4 Dec 85 p 2

[Text] In connection with the article "Needle Pinned on the Lapel" (No 42), in addition to the letter by Supreme Court Justice Todor Todorov, the editors have received a number of letters but only from our readers. This proves civic and social awareness and a sharpened feeling concerning violations of the law not only in trade but in all economic areas. This newspaper expects the response of the specialist as well--trade inspectors, managers, finance auditors and representatives of control bodies. The article which triggered the dialogue among readers against encroachments on socialist property raised the following question: how are the special instructions on missing funds, damages and misappropriations implemented; should the culprits, whether they committed the crime with malice aforethought or not, be prosecuted? An answer to this question should come from financial and legal authorities. Furthermore, there is a special ukase which forbids appointing people indicted or sentenced to hold material accountability positions. This ban is not always observed by trade workers and other economic managers. Who will explain the reason for which the categorical stipulations which are a law aimed at protecting the common property are being violated?

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## BOTH UNIMPROVED, DEVELOPED LAND ZONED FOR HOUSING CONSTRUCTION

East Berlin ARCHITEKTUR DER DDR in German Vol 34, No 9, Sep 85 p 561

[Article by Eng Christa Menz, Council of Kreis Belzig: "The Building Land Law--A Good Foundation for the Preparation of Master Plans--A Discussion Contribution Based on the Exchange of Experiences Pertaining to Work Done With the Building Land Law at the Postgraduate Institute for Town and Country Planning and Architecture at Weimar"]

[Text] The orderly spatial development of our cities and villages is only possible on the basis of mutually coordinated and long-range planning. Consequently, in recent years long-range concepts were worked on in an intensified manner. The focal point in this work was the long-range concept for solving the apartment question through the year 1990.

For every city, for every community, it must be proven that every family can have an apartment which fulfills its essential needs. A maximum number of apartments in the inventory are to be modernized.

Work on this concept in our Kreis Belzig also required intensive and goal-oriented cooperation between all council jurisdictions, and particularly required a precise analysis of the inventory and needs. A quantitative recording was not adequate--qualitative data were required.

But the analysis already had to take into account the need and the changes in the inventory. Additional problems existed with respect to the investigation of the possibilities for covering the need.

The comprehensive and extensive tasking resulted in a necessity for working out a long-term concept for all areas connected with the solution of the apartment dwelling question, so that the final results represented not only concepts for the solution of the apartment question, but included additional concepts which were consulted upon, coordinated, and confirmed, including the developmental concept for the Kreis-managed construction industry, the school network, and the trade and business network, as well as other concepts designed to provide for citizens and deprive them of worry. From phase to phase, the work became more and more specific.

The results then found their municipal construction expressions in

- 1) master planning,
- 2) community formation concepts,
- 3) concepts applying to localities, and
- 4) development plans.

The results of the detailed planning were transferred to the long-term concept. This constant feedback assured us of the efficient utilization of building land, of the available construction, and of the reserves of municipal facilities, which assured us of the optimum utilization of our fund inventories and the fulfillment of the overall goal.

The harmonious formation of our cities and villages is a fundamental prerequisite for a feeling of well-being among our citizens--not only in their dwelling units, but also in their residential areas. The feeling of well-being and connection with the settlement is important for purposes of identification with the environment and the resulting sense of responsibility both for one's own as well as for the people's property. It is this feeling which gives rise to activities designed to maintain and beautify the environment.

Consequently, it is far from adequate to simply inform our citizens of what has already been agreed on and set forth in planning documents. After all, one can expect cooperation and the contribution of resident proposals and hints only if one informs them on a long-term basis.

On the basis of long-term concepts, for example, of the master plan, this kind of information is absolutely possible. But it is already discernible in practice today that the Building Land Law is only invoked in cases where problems exist with the availability of building land or the utilization of built-up lots.

The demand for timely information regarding planned construction projects in accordance with Sections 5 and 15 of the Building Land Law and Sections 1 and 10 of the first implementation decree has its reasons. Cooperation and core-responsibility on the part of citizens in solving these tasks require timely information at a time when changes are still possible. A mere announcement of provisions fails to activate citizens but easily leads to temporizing actions.

That is why all directives issued by the local councils referred to the principles enunciated in Section 3 of the Building Land Law. It was required that the master plans and the locality formation concepts be repeatedly discussed and be presented for examination.

During the discussions, problems are also discernible on a timely basis and a timely and goal-oriented exertion of influence is facilitated.

Frequently, given the pressure to solve existing tasks of the day on a short-term basis, the long-term concept is not taken into account and is, thus, endangered. However, we must solve today's tasks with a view toward tomorrow.

Every master plan is condemned to failure if it does not form the foundation for detailed planning. In realizing the individual phases, there is the need to assure the overall goal through constant updating.

The long-term concept for solving the apartment question and the master plan are realized in individual segments over a long time frame. It is, therefore, not adequate to recognize them as a basis for work. Every concept includes the resolution of the people's representatives, or the council, coupled with a plan of measures for its implementation. This means that as early as the determination for the long-term concept is made, specific determinations should govern areas of land reserved for future construction.

In Section 7 of the Building Land Law, it is specified that both improved and unimproved land can be identified as reserved areas for construction. As early as the preparation and working out of the long-term municipal construction plan, orientation toward the rational use of areas is provided. In this respect, we can refer to the demands published in Section 6 of the Building Land Law.

With the turn toward municipal construction, the number of dwelling units per location in our Kreis increased. Because of the low number of building stories and the relatively small gaps between buildings, the location numbers per new construction rose. Since we do not regard new construction in an isolated manner, but realize it in a closed area (residential quarter), and since we are realizing reconstruction, modernization, and maintenance operations in addition to new construction, a multiplicity of problems must be solved with respect to private ownership in preparing construction measures.

Without the specific and clear regulation pertaining to the availability of building land, pertaining to regulations for utilization of this land in preparing and executing building measures, the problems can hardly be mastered.

The Building Land Law has been in effect for a relatively short time. Our existing experiences are limited to questions and problems involved in the preparation and discussion of construction plans and to its utilization in training and directives.

In so doing, value was primarily placed on planned work in location processing. Three work steps were set which must be accomplished with respect to every planning project:

1. Consultation and discussion of the proposal for long-term municipal construction planning at meetings of residents. The results are to be captured in a protocol and are to be worked into the concept.

2. Decision with respect to the concept and the plan of measures to implement the concept:

a) identification of realization phases and sectors,

b) identification of measures for which construction reservation areas have been applied for.

3. Detailed planning and renewed public presentation. Establishment of specific measures to secure the availability of building land as a result of the discussions.

Thus far, in the short time that the Building Land Law has been in force, we have only been able to determine construction density plans in two communities. A useful substantive discussion resulted even despite initial reservations of the citizens who were directly involved. In the smallest towns and villages, we are working close to the skin of the citizens. The positive influence of neighbors with respect to problems must, therefore, never be underestimated.

Imprecise information by a third party is frequently more harmful than the necessity of having to make more precise a long-term item of information on the basis of additional investigations. Consequently, I consider it to be our task to recognize problems with respect to the making of building land available through long-term concepts on the basis of the Building Land Law and to solve them in cooperation with the citizens involved.

The Building Land Law presents us with good opportunities for realizing our construction policy in conjunction with our citizens.

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CSO: 2300/157

## LISTENERS PROVIDED WITH LATEST DEVELOPMENTS IN TRANSPORT SECTOR

DW160745 [Editorial Report] In the third installment of the recorded "Listeners Forum," East Berlin Domestic Service in German at 1600 GMT on 8 January presents Transport Minister Otto Arndt, who answers questions about his ministry. The topics include railroad and street traffic, road construction, inland and deep-sea navigation, civil aviation, the Mitropa travel agency, and the international Deutrans shipping agency. The minister says that roughly 11.5 million people in the GDR now make use of public transportation.

Referring to the electrification of railroad lines, Arndt states that in 1985 almost 300 kilometers were electrified and that this excellent pace will be continued in 1986. "It will require even more effective construction work and a better application of materials," he adds.

In reply to a listener's remark on overcrowded trains at rush hours, Arndt expresses surprise. He says the situation ought to have improved last year owing to the operation of almost 2,000 additional trains. Additional relief to rush-hour commuter traffic is afforded by double-decker buses.

Asked about the prospects for commissioning additional express trains, the minister states that new Intercity Express trains between Berlin and Erfurt are planned as well as a couple of relief trains for the Rennsteig City Express, in both directions. About 15,000 trains run in the GDR each day, the minister notes, with 50 percent of them being passenger trains while the other half are freight trains. "The key problem for all transportation is," the minister points out, "the struggle for absolute punctuality."

Answering a question about the benefits derived from shifting goods transport from road to rail, Arndt says that the major advantages are in saving energy. Continued electrification of the GDR's railroad network, the minister adds, will enable the operation of longer and heavier trains. He notes that "the goal in 1986 is to increase rail container traffic by 72 percent compared with 1981." By the end of the first quarter of 1986, the computer-controlled transportation system will be completed so that transportation means and energy can be saved.

A number of questions deal with the growing demand for motor vehicles and repair and maintenance services. The minister deplores the fact that "the people's demand for repair performances on motor vehicles is not yet fully met by short waiting and repair periods."

Referring to the GDR's inland waterway facilities, Arndt notes that the total number of waterways amounts to roughly 2,300 kilometers and that for the time being no additional waterways are planned. In reply to a listener's question, Arndt says the GDR's icebreaker fleet now numbers about 20 vessels; the sea-going fleet numbers roughly 170. In the GDR ports of Rostock, Wismar, and Stralsund an average of 5,500 ships from many countries are berthed each year. The GDR's annual transshipments amount to roughly 25 million tons of goods.

In conclusion the minister notes some modernization plans for the Berlin subway system and other train stations. He thanks all transport workers for the outstanding results achieved in 1985.

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CSO: 2300/201

## MINISTER RESPONDS TO QUESTIONS ON CONSUMER SERVICES, REPAIRS

DW161400 [Editorial Report] East Berlin Domestic Service in German at 1600 GMT on 9 January 1986 continues its "Listeners' Forum" series with Udo-dieter Wange, GDR minister for the bezirk-administered and foodstuffs industries. Initially the minister makes it clear in response to a question that the statistical data on bezirk economic plan fulfillment include the bezirk-administered combines but never such centrally administered combines as the Buna Works in Halle Bezirk or even the Leuna Chemical Combine.

As to the achievements of the bezirk-administered industry, Wange stresses its "good development," which accounts for a 1985 output "worth more than M20 billion." The envisaged growth rate for 1986 is 8 percent and "the share of the bezirk-administered industry in the production of new consumer goods in 1986 will be 10 percent," he adds.

A listener wishes to know why "supply bottlenecks occur in the thousand little things of daily use." The minister replies: "In most cases it happens when demand increases more rapidly than production capacities. Consequently, for the bezirk-administered industry we have envisaged in the plan a considerable increase in the production of rationalization equipment so that the production branch can adapt to requirements in good time and supply will keep abreast of demand."

Having promised improvements in services in general and a tangible reduction in waiting periods for repairs or their elimination by enhancing the exchange service--turn in a set for repair and take home a spare for the duration--Wange announces that the network of self-service cleaning facilities will be expanded by 50 shops in 1986, the CSSR supplying the required equipment by contract.

A listener from Greifswald wonders whether it will be possible to obtain licenses for private artisan shops in the future. The minister declares: "Yes, of course, albeit in keeping with the requirements for the supply of the people. Last year we granted permission to 15,000 citizens to open, or continue to operate, artisan enterprises." He adds that the local authorities have "clear instructions to exploit all options and

especially to guarantee the continuation of an artisan enterprise's operation with the artisan's children and to grant further operating licenses in the interest of the people's supply."

Wange informs a Leipzig listener that the M7.14 billion output of the GDR furniture industry for the people envisaged for 1986 is broken down as follows: Furnishings for about 5,500 bedrooms, 10,200 kitchens, 17,400 rooms for children and youngsters, 12,000 living rooms including upholstered furniture, and more than 4,000 sets of upholstered furniture for replacement purposes. Apart from the built-in kitchens for all the apartments to be newly built in 1986, the furniture industry must equip kindergartens, nurseries, and health facilities, sales outlets, restaurants, and FDGB vacation homes.

When questions shift to the foodstuffs industry in general and soft drink production in particular, Wange announces that there is a host of ideas concerning new products in this field. "Jointly with our Cuban comrades in particular we are in the process of developing new raw substances from plants growing in Cuba, substances which can be utilized for the production of soft drinks." New products will be on sale "before the end of the year."

In conclusion Wange draws attention to the relocation of the "traditional" fishing grounds of the GDR fishing fleet off Norway, saying that in the meantime GDR fishermen have adapted to the new fishing grounds "off northern and southern Africa and in the Indian Ocean, showing good catch results."

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CSO: 2300/199



## BRIEFS

ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH AUSTRIA--East Berlin (ADN)--On Friday [17 January] State Secretary Dr Gerhard Beil received Dr Erich Schmidt, state secretary in the Austrian Ministry of Trade, Commerce and Industry to discuss the further development of economic relations in 1986. According to Dr Schmidt, Austria will participate with numerous exhibits in the 1986 Leipzig Spring Fair. [Summary] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 18-19 Jan 86 p 2 AU] /8309

ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH SWITZERLAND--Bern (ADN)--GDR State Secretary Dr Gerhard Beil is currently visiting Switzerland to discuss economic relations between the two countries. He met with Dr Kurt Furgler, the Swiss minister of trade, and with Dr Cornelio Sommaruga, head of the Office of Foreign Trade. It was agreed to give the necessary support for the further development of economic relations. Mutual trade is to be increased and cooperation on third markets is to be developed. [Summary] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 21 Jan 86 p 1 AU] /8309

MEIER MEETS IRAQI MINISTER--East Berlin (ADN)--On Wednesday [8 January] Felix Meier, minister of electrical engineering and electronics, received Tariq Hamad al-'Abdallah, minister of light industries of the Republic of Iraq and chairman of the Iraqi part of the standing committee for economic, scientific, and technological cooperation between the GDR and the Republic of Iraq. The ministers discussed the further development of cooperation between the two countries in the field of electrical engineering and electronics. So far, the GDR has delivered, inter alia, railroad signalling and safety equipment, electronic data processing equipment, and equipment for electric energy transmission and distribution. [Excerpts] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 9 Jan 86 p 2 AU] /8309

GEORGI MEETS IRAQI MINISTER--East Berlin (ADN)--On Thursday [9 January] Dr Rudi Georgi, minister of machine tool and processing machinery building, received Tariq Hamad al-'Abdallah, minister of light industries of the Republic of Iraq and chairman of the Iraqi part of the standing committee for economic, scientific, and technological cooperation between the GDR and the Republic of Iraq. They discussed measures for further developing relations in the field of machine tool and processing machinery building. GDR deliveries to the Arab country include machine tools, printing and textile machinery, and repair shops. [Excerpts] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10 Jan 86 p 2 AU] /8309

CSO: 2300/202

## INNOVATORS URGED TO COMPETE FOR TAX CONCESSIONS

Budapest OTLET in Hungarian No 45, 7 Nov 85 p 23

[Interview with Jozsef Kacsoh, Director of NOVIKI, by Anna Gyori: "A Contest For Tax Concessions"; date and place not specified]

[Excerpts] "In the case of a positive judgment, artisans get a 30 percent tax concession."

Nowadays the taxing of artisans and entrepreneurs is almost a daily topic. Even in the columns of the ESTI HIRLAP I noticed an advertised address which dealt with this topic: Bidding For Tax Exemption! With a December 1 deadline, the Office for Small Business Innovations, also known by the imaginative name NOVIKI, awaits the applications of artisans, enterprise work associations, independent work associations, ????? (polgari jogi tarsasagok), and groups of skilled workers from industrial and service-oriented cooperatives.

I turned to the director of NOVIKI, Jozseph Kacsoh.

[Question] How much interest is there and who can count on a decrease in taxes?

[Answer] The notice offers tax concessions to everyone who: makes products dealing with energy conservation and environmental protection and provides services relating to this; manufactures products, perfects innovations, or pursues outstanding craftsmen activities based upon patents granted to independent innovators or those representing firms. Last year there was less interest than what we had expected; only 470 private craftsmen and 155 entrepreneurs applied.

[Question] What is the extent of the potential tax decrease, who can count on it, and how is one's entitlement determined?

[Answer] After making a payment of 500 or 1,000 forints, each artisan or entrepreneur applying with us receives a bidding form. The artisan forwards this document to the county secretariat of the National Organization of Artisans (KIOSZ), where a committee of experts makes a decision, then they forward the form, together with their opinions, to us. NOVIKI also provides a professional opinion, together with which the document is forwarded to the

KIOSZ's central economic department. The final decision is made there, after which everything comes back to us. We notify the artisans, who enclose our notification with their tax statement at the end of the year.

[Question] Isn't doing it this way a little cumbersome?

[Answer] It is indeed. The procedure is simpler with entrepreneurs: They return to us the document we give them, attaching the validation of their claims, and we mail them our professional evaluation to be attached to the tax statements they send to the Chief Income Administrrating Office of the Financial Ministry. In the case of a positive judgment, artisans receive a tax concession of 30 percent. They can also partake of an additional ten percent tax decrease if they are realizing their own invention. Entrepreneurs, on the other hand, can deduct 15 percent of the distributed income from their taxable base income.

[Question] What do you see as the reason why so few applied?

[Answer] The majority of artisans and entrepreneurs do not possess the requisite machinery or equipment to move ahead. Whatever amount the entrepreneurs deposit in an account earmarked for the purchase of machinery, they can deduct from their total income, and this is not taxable.

[Question] In addition to determining tax concessions, you are also involved in management.

[Answer] If somebody turns to us with a good idea, in which we see some possibility and for which there is also a demand in the marketplace, then we financially help in realizing this. For example, one artisan invented a type of casting procedure which was able to make plain bearings. The Hungarian State Railways (MAV) needed this product, which up to this time it had bought for hard currency. As a result of this idea the Hungarian State Railways (MAV) and NOVIKI helped by each assuming 50-50 percent of the risk in the development of this new technology. The artisan who came up with the whole thing will later on teach the MAV employees who are involved with manufacturing products.

[Question] What does NOVIKI profit out of all of this?

[Answer] At its inception the KIOSZ and the State Development Bank guaranteed 4 million forints capital for the office, out of which we spend 1.75 million for management. Naturally it is not only private entrepreneurs who can turn to us, but rather anybody who has a technological development problem. Our primary goal is not to make a profit, but rather to help to get as many new inventions as possible off the ground.

12588

CSO: 2500/86

## NEW SYSTEMS FOR TAXING POPULATION INCOME

Budapest FIGYELO in Hungarian No 47, 21 Nov 85 p 19

[Article by Dr Mihaly Kupa: "Changes in The Population's Income Taxation"]

[Text] Beginning with 1986, there is no mention of introducing a system of unified personal income taxation. (Concerning the same topic, see the statement of Deputy Minister of Finances Laszlo Bekesi in FIGYELO No 45, 1985.) Furthermore, the regulations now ratified do not affect the system of taxing agricultural incomes from household plots, the taxes of associations, the contributions to the national health insurance, and the rules concerning sales taxes.

Who Is Affected?

The modification affects approximately 1.2 million citizens, those who have already been paying income taxes. In other words, it concerns private artisans, private merchants, white-collar professional freelancers, members of associations (such as enterprisal economic work associations, specialist groups, and associations that operate on contract or lump-sum bases.) These include about 450,000 citizens; we must add to these the approximately 800,000 individuals who pursue taxable income-producing activities on a part-time or occasional basis (teachers, translators, etc.).

General income tax rates will change so that, beginning with 1986, the contributions for community development (KOFA) will be incorporated in the system, in accordance with the following principles:

--up to 80,000 forints taxable income, the tax rate will remain unchanged (in other words, in this category the taxpayers "gained back" their earlier tax burden).

--at the same time, for taxable incomes between 80,000 and 200,000 forints, the 20 percent community development contribution (KOFA) will be gradually incorporated in the tax-rate.

Finally, in cases of income above 200,000 forints, the tax burden will be relatively heavily (3-8 points) increased.

Two additional pieces of data, in order to evaluate the above: During the first three quarters of 1985, the average annual wage in the state and cooperative sectors was between 64 and 65,000 forints. At the same time, taking into consideration activities that fall in the category of general income taxes, 95-96 percent(!) of private artisans and merchants paid taxes on incomes below 200,000 forints during 1985. Beginning with 1986, the withholdings according to the new tax rates will look like this:

Table I.

Net Tax Base in 1,000 forints	Tax in forints	Percentage	Changes as compared to 1985 burden in forints
40	1,600	4.9	- 320
60	3,600	6.0	- 720
80	7,600	9.5	- 1,520
100	13,600	13.6	- 320
150	36,100	24.1	- 620
200	58,600	29.3	- 920
300	120,600	40.2	+ 1,080
500	270,000	54.1	+ 19,080
1000	656,000	65.6	+ 20,480
1500	1,056,000	70.4	+ 30,480

--Note 1: Net tax base, i.e. the sum remaining after adding up all obligations (e.g. contributions to the national health insurance) and deducting all concessions (e.g. deductible personal expenses).

--Note 2: Income tax for 1985 + 20-percent contribution to community development (KOFA).

In the category that previously paid a 10 percent contribution to community development (associations, lawyers, white-collar professionals), the incorporation of a 20 percent contribution to community development was ameliorated by increasing the amount of tax-free personal and utility expenses.

Resulting from the increase of cost proportions, in 1986 the income and disposable income of various activities will look like this:

Table II.

Disposable (after-tax) earnings of			
		Private artisans/merchants	Members of associations
		in 1,000 forints	
150	With 1,000	92.5	93.0
200	forints of	112.9	116.3
500	earnings	201.0	227.4

## To Stimulate Innovation

Creative intellectuals (writers, artists, and performers) have already been taxed in accordance with a different accounting of expenses. From 1986 their average taxes will be about half of what they paid in 1985. This reflects the desire to continue stimulating interests connected with creativity. The new regulations significantly increase the number of concessions tied to taxable activities and stimulate innovative approaches. To mention only the most important points:

--The so-called social exemption (based on age, handicapped status, or private activities as artisans or merchants) was increased from 48 to 60,000 forints.

--In locations where public utilities are not available, the concession allowable by the local councils has been increased from 50 to 120,000 forints, and at the same time it is now applicable to all small enterprises.

--Taxes paid for workers employed by private artisans, retail merchandising, and small enterprises have been reduced from 20 to 10 percent.

--Each year, 70,000 forints tax exemption per person can be claimed for innovations and patents. At the same time, in order to stimulate innovation, the tax concessions of small enterprises implementing new technologies and patents have also been increased.

## New Methods

There have been significant changes in the methods of taxation. As of 1986, small enterprises will pay taxes in the following three ways:

--Those who possess more significant incomes will shift to the so-called self-taxation (which is similar to the method now used in connection with the enterprisal economic work associations). Private artisans having sales in excess of 2 million forints, private merchants having sales in excess of 8 million forints (but, in both cases, having more than 500,000 forints of taxable income) will shift from today's practice of tax-levying to self-taxation. In other words, those falling into these categories will compute their own taxes and pay them without any notification, with stricter bookkeeping requirements (dated record books, bank accounts, etc.) than presently applied. In these categories, the taxing authorities will perform audits only.

--Below the 500,000 forint income level, citizens can choose between the traditional procedure of tax-reporting or the new type lump sum taxing method. (There will be no change in the traditional procedure.) The substance of lump sum taxing is this: taxes will not be paid on the basis of earnings, but on the basis of receipts, and tax rates will be determined three years in advance. The determination of lump sum tax amount will take place in negotiations between the taxpayers and the taxing authorities, with the agreement of citizens' interest groups. We will institute eight lump sum classes, with three tax categories--low, medium and high--in each class. While the tax amounts are higher than those that appear in the new table of tax

rates, on the one hand they provide a three-year security for the taxpayers, and on the other hand they enable the taxpayers to manipulate their investments in such a manner that their incomes increase in any given receipt category--without paying taxes on such a surplus. (Naturally, significant changes in receipts--decreases or increases--must be reported to the authorities, who will continue to exercise suitable control in the future.)

--While it is not a part of the changes in the taxation system, another important new regulation states that as of 1 July 1986 the 10 percent fee payable in connection with the transfer in ownership of automobiles received from abroad (as a gift or the like) will be discontinued. In accordance with the new rule, an income tax for 50 percent of the customs value of the motor vehicle (any motor vehicle) must be paid, if its ownership is transferred (it is sold). (Until now, 60,000 forints had to be paid at the time of selling a Mercedes that has a customs value of 600,000 forints; in accordance with the new rule, this fee will become 120,000 forints.)

#### Different Apparatus

Beginning with the second half of 1986, there will be organizational changes as well: the taxing apparatus of the local councils will take over responsibility for the taxation of private artisans and merchants. The discontinued tax offices will operate as offices determining the tax rates, attached to the councils, in Budapest and in the county seats, while tax- and fee-offices will operate in the county towns. The procedure for levying the taxes will not change (the taxing of private artisans and merchants will be the task of county offices determining taxes).

In order to more effectively discover and tax the so-called "black incomes," a special section will be established which, in cooperation with the responsible organs, will significantly improve the speed and efficiency of control.

These modifications taking effect in 1986 are once again indicating that in the long run our economic leadership regards small enterprises as useful and respected members of our socio-economic life.

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CSO: 2500/123

## STATISTICAL BUREAU REPORT ON PRODUCTION, EXPORT

Budapest FIGYELO in Hungarian No 47, 21 Nov 85 p 19

[Unsigned article: "The Central Statistical Bureau (KSH) Reports: Industrial Production Barely Increased, Export Significantly Decreased "]

[Text] During the first three quarters of the year, the production of industrial firms was 1.1 percent higher than a year before. Among the most important branches, the chemical industry increased its production by 3.6 percent, and the machine industry by 3.4 percent. Mining productivity slightly surpassed, while those of the food processing and light industries approached the level for January-September of 1984. In metallurgy and in the manufacturing of construction materials the production level decreased.

The level of export sales for industrial commodities, which fell below the 1984 level during the first six months, exhibited an 8.4 percent growth during the third quarter, and thus for the nine-month period it exceeded by 2.1 percent the level of the previous year. The volume of domestic sales rose by 1 percent.

As for agricultural goods, the volume of sales of crop-cultivating and gardening products combined was 3.4 percent lower than during the first three quarters of the previous year. However, in vegetables and fruits the volume of sales has increased. They sold 2.2 percent more beef, 2.8 percent more sheep, and the same amount of poultry as last year. The purchasing of pork and meat products lagged behind that of the previous year.

Activity by the contract-based construction enterprises, which accomplish about half of the building and equipment installation tasks, was 8.7 percent below the level during the same period of the previous year, attributable in part to unfavorable weather conditions during the early part of the year, limitations placed on energy consumption, and reductions in the investment budget.

During the nine months there was 2.6 percent less money allocated for investment by the socialist sector than in the previous year. (During the third quarter of this year, investment activity became more lively, primarily on the enterprisal level.) Construction investments decreased during the first three quarters. The volume of investment spent on machinery, due to



significantly increased machinery purchases outside the ruble-based economies, has surpassed the level of the previous year by 2 percent.

The population's income derived from central sources was 8.4 percent higher than during the same period of the previous year. Within this category, the wages of workers and employees have grown by 6.7 percent. In manufacturing industries, wages increased by 8.5 percent, in the construction industry by 6.4 percent. The population obtained 0.8 percent more income from the sale of agricultural goods than during the previous year.

The volume of retail sales showed an increase of 7.1 percent in current prices; adjusting for price-increases, this means a 1 percent increase. The volume of trade has grown by 1.6 percent in foodstuffs and luxury consumables, and by 1.4 percent in miscellaneous industrial articles; while in clothing items it has decreased by 3.3 percent.

Figuring in current prices, the level of import showed 7.0 percent, while the forint value of export a 1.6 percent increase over that of January through September of last year. The foreign trade balance for the period of January through September (taking into consideration the actual freight costs) closed with a 5 billion forint deficit.

12588

CS0:2500/123

## PROPOSAL TO AID DISADVANTAGED AGRICULTURAL COOPS

Budapest FIGYELO in Hungarian No 1, 2 Jan 86 p 13

[Interview with Dr Sandor Misi, director of the Cooperatives and Business Administration Affairs Main Department of the Ministry of Agriculture and Food, by FIGYELO agricultural affairs staffer Peter Bonyhadi: "Rescue Attempt"; date and place of interview not given; first three paragraphs are FIGYELO introduction; boxed material by author as indicated]

[Text] Living conditions and the production level in seven megyes--Borsod, Szabolcs, Bekes, Vas, Zala, Somogy, and Baranya--are lagging so far behind the national averages that they are causing tension practically of nationwide proportions.

In spite of the fact that agricultural policy is devoting special attention to the situation of the large-scale farms operating under below-average natural and economic conditions, farming in the mentioned regions is unable to ensure the conditions of even simple reproduction, and the means of providing profitable employment are lacking almost completely.

Peter Bonyhadi of our staff has interviewed Dr Sandor Misi, director of the Cooperatives Main Department within the Ministry of Agriculture and Food, about the causes of this situation and the possibilities of solving it.

#### No Common Denominator

[Answer] By way of introduction I should perhaps point out merely that general regulations for aiding agriculture are unsuitable for taking into consideration unfavorable factors other than soil quality, such as, e.g., the threat of floods and poor drainage, a production structure based on regional traditions, a dissipated infrastructure of poor quality, the absence of industries, the demand for more jobs than what the region is able to support, etc.

Therefore the large-scale farms operating under such conditions have been lagging in their development, and the financial difficulties in their operations have become constant. There are in all between 140 and 160 such large-scale farms, farming on over 500,000 hectares, which is 13 to 15 percent of Hungary's total area of farmland. These farms account for 32 to 40 percent of the output of the cooperative farms in their respective megyes.

The overwhelming majority of these cooperative farms are disadvantaged. The cadastral value of the plowland on most of them is below 17 [Austro-Hungarian] gold crowns. Their capital-labor and working capital ratios are low. They are coping with constant shortages of experts. And their ability to assume risk is minimal.

Nearly three-fourths of the financial deficit during the past 10 years is concentrated in these regions. The farms' yearend losses and fund deficits that the state budget has absorbed total close to 6.0 billion forints. A 1979 joint decree of the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Agriculture and Food prevented a further deterioration of the situation. It is actually a comprehensive package of measures, with a price tag of 1.0 billion forints, embracing the entire production process.

[Question] You mentioned that many kinds of unfavorable factors are hampering these cooperatives. It is indeed impossible to draft special regulations that take so many different aspects into consideration, respectively their application alone would be unable to produce a lasting result. Therefore what is basically common that could be changed with the aid of economic instruments?

[Answer] It is impossible to find a common denominator. In a substantial proportion of the cooperatives farming in these regions, the production structure that has evolved by tradition is the source of serious losses under the present system of economic regulation. Indispensable amelioration, which in many cases would mean merely simple drainage, has been neglected or considerably delayed practically everywhere in these regions, because the agricultural cooperatives are strapped for cash. Yet not even the price of the seed can be recovered on fields that are threatened by floods or have poor drainage.

#### Costly Small Businesses

Cattle and sheep determine the livestock production of the disadvantaged farms, but the profitability of these branches of livestock production is below the national average to begin with. The development of industrial activity and services in these regions began late and in the wrong direction. For example, the small businesses established primarily in the capital did nothing to relieve the problems of local unemployment. Because of the distance and the difficulty of supervision, moreover, several of these small businesses ran up substantial losses for their parent agricultural cooperatives.

The obsolete stock of fixed assets and working capital that is geared to the one-sided production structure, and the backward infrastructure in the small villages do not attract agricultural experts. And the recurring failure is conducive neither to pledges of increased performance, nor to labor discipline.

[Question] The argument is familiar that the country cannot afford to dispense with the farm output of these regions where the conditions of farming are unfavorable. For local economic managers, however, the prospect of showing a loss year after year, and of accepting all the personal consequences of unprofitable operation, is not the brightest one, either. What is there new that you could say in this situation?

[Answer] I do not think that we have to invent anything new in these regions. We merely ought to achieve--and imagine this "merely" in quotation marks--that farm production does not show a loss when weather conditions are approximately optimal, and that industrial and service activity of acceptable profitability supplements farming. The most important thing in this region is to set up--in a differentiated manner, of course--economical production, instead of the one-sided quantitative increase of the output. For example, crop production is typical in the disadvantaged regions, with the exception of Borsod Megye; but the rationalization of land use, an essential condition for profitable farming, has not been solved as yet.

We ought to afforest at least 6,500 to 7,000 hectares in these regions under the 7th Five-Year Plan. The area of plowland used to grow forage crops could be reduced by establishing or renewing about 4,000 hectares of grasslands. And between 10,000 and 11,000 hectares more ought to be sown with grass to conserve the soil. In five to ten years, about 1.0 billion forints ought to be spent on these projects.

The threat of floods and the poor drainage in these regions ought to be reduced to a minimum, which would cost--at today's prices--a total of nearly 6.0 billion forints under the 7th and 8th Five-Year Plans.

#### Paper Wealth

[Question] After five to ten years, then, the farms would be able to do what they like on these areas?

[Answer] No! Not even the farms are capable of miracles. Disposition of the area under crops would have to be changed. Instead of corn that does not thrive because of the weather conditions, for example, preference ought to be given to cereals. The area of forage crops freed by the aforementioned grasslands ought to be used to grow industrial crops--sunflower, soybeans, hemp, etc.--provided we are able to develop a suitable system of machinery and implements for them.

[Question] Actually this solution does not require much foresight and planning if the money for it is available. Once you have established the necessary technical base, you only need to operate it.

[Answer] All the same, this is not so simple. Because of the smaller area per farm, for example, the replacement and repairing of crop production's stock of machinery should be solved jointly, within the framework of joint operation, rather than separately by farms. First, because this way the farms could find it easier to come up with the approximately 2.0 billion forints for the investments this would require. And secondly, it would be easier to take advantage of the automatic subsidies and other state aid for the procurement of farm machinery.

[Question] Would it not be possible to achieve faster growth by modifying the structure of livestock production?

[Answer] That, too, must be based on crop production. Incidentally, livestock production in the lagging regions is characterized by herds of heterogeneous quality, wide variations in the acreage per farm, and differences in the technological level and animal-husbandry practices.

Almost without exception, the buildings used to house the livestock were built in the 1968-1973 period. Sheep are housed mostly in makeshift shelters. There is hardly any machinery for the reliable production of good-quality fodder, and therefore the utilization of fodder is inefficient. There is a wide discrepancy between the book value and the actual value of the livestock, and this inflates the stock of working capital, respectively the value of the farms' assets.

In view of the existing conditions, the most important task is not a change in the structure of livestock production--after all, the regions in question are suitable primarily for raising cattle and sheep--but the upgrading of the breeding stock, modernization of the technologies of keep, and the ensuring of a suitable supply of feed and fodder. The system of economic regulation for 1986 also encourages these efforts, especially in cattle breeding.

[Question] In these regions, I suppose, it is not always possible to think in terms of large-scale farms of customary size. Would it not accelerate the development of these regions if we were to provide for their household plots, and for small-scale farming, incentives that differ from the average ones?

#### Economical Small-Scale Production

[Answer] In my opinion, there is no need to establish some kind of special zone. But contractual relations between the large-scale farms and the small-scale producers in the regions ought to be expanded further. And the large-scale farms ought to resort more boldly to the practice of letting small-scale producers operate certain branches of their farming, but without changes in the form of ownership.

[Question] After the unfavorable experience to date and under the given conditions, what are you planning to do with the cooperative farms' ancillary activities?

[Answer] Due to differences in local conditions, the requirements for the development of industrial activity and services likewise differ in the individual districts that are included in the program for the development of regions and settlements. In view of agriculture's limited ability to create jobs, and of the pressure to provide employment, among the megyes in question there will be a need for local, nonagricultural businesses, employing mainly semiskilled labor, primarily in Szabolcs and Borsod.

It will be necessary to investigate what opportunities there are in these regions for improving the profitability of the farms' principal activity. These opportunities should include, among other things, also the expansion of food processing or preprocessing.

## First Round

[Question] Presented this way, your argumentation is very impressive. But it would be even more effective if you could tell us in somewhat greater detail, for example, where and what the farms could do.

[Answer] In the Szatmar and Bereg region, the farms could create jobs by establishing or expanding plants for crushing limestone, utilizing the gravel deposits and flared gas. In several regions, the expansion of cottage industries could come into consideration. In the Zahony area, the solution could be participation in supplying the reloading district's manpower demand on the basis of cooperation, and the processing of imported timber. In Nyirlugos and the Vallaj-Merk area, the cooperative farms ought to form associations for processing farm products. On most large-scale farms there are opportunities to engage in the production of general metal goods, plastic and other household products, and products of the supplier industries.

Some of the mentioned development projects could begin already in 1986, with aid from central resources. The managers of all the farms concerned will be informed soon about the program's other ways and means, including opportunities to submit tenders, the generally applicable and special grants and subsidies, and credit terms.

[Question] What can we expect of this program that will cost several tens of billions of forints?

[Answer] The specific results of the program's implementation will depend primarily on the amount of resources that can be made available, on the scale of the applicable preferences, and on the production and human-engineering factors. In the present state of the program's elaboration, a solid answer to your question is not possible, but the main results can be outlined.

The branch program's realization will enhance the more efficient utilization of the country's backward regions, and their participation in the mainstream of Hungary's economic and social life. It will increase the regions' ability to provide jobs and will eventually permit the curtailment or phaseout of state subsidies. With changes in the production structure, the level of production on the farms in question could improve by about 20 to 25 percent.

[Box, p 13]

Peter Bonyhadi: Potential of Cooperative Trucking Underexploited

I am not bringing this up because the agricultural cooperatives are in any particular need of protection from small businesses. After all, the integrational relations between the household plots and the large-scale farms prove the exact opposite. Indeed, one could perhaps venture the opinion that a large-scale farm might even find it stimulating if small-scale producers or small entrepreneurs forced it to compete, to really compete, in some activity.

Up to now it has been customary to mention real competition always on behalf of small-scale producers and small entrepreneurs. Because the large-scale

farms, with their more extensive system of relationships, have found it easy to create a situation such that their small competitors have already been glad even to avoid having to competing with them.

But there is one area of competition within agriculture where the bigger competitor, the large-scale farm, starts with a handicap. And that area is trucking!

Here the point is not that private truckers in the provinces are more polite than the truck drivers of the cooperative farms. Nor that private truckers consider it natural to provide services of which cooperative-farm trucking has never even heard. The less so because the incentive system of the cooperative farms stimulates also their truck drivers to solicit as much business as they can, and to keep fuel costs as low as possible, to the mutual advantage of the cooperatives and their truckers. And this is specifically where the agricultural cooperatives' trucking fleet falls hopelessly behind the rural private truckers.

For private individuals, and hence also the household plots, are able to buy heating oil for much less than what the large-scale farms pay for the same grade of light but desulfurized heating oil, also known as diesel fuel. So far so good. But the trouble is that at the fuel pump it is impossible to tell where the oil being filled into jerry cans will end up eventually, whether in the stoves or in the tanks of private trucks. To begin with, provincial private truckers are thus able to offer their services for 30 percent less than what the trucking service of a cooperative farm would have to charge for the same cargo to the same destination. Once the autumn hauling for the farms has been completed, for example, the trucks of the Bekes Megye agricultural cooperatives are standing idle in the yard next to the repair shop, or parked in the street in front of the truck drivers' homes, because there is no cargo to haul.

At first glance this is only natural. After all, nobody will be willing to pay 30 percent more to have his building materials trucked in, or his fattened livestock hauled away, merely to support a socialist large-scale farm's trucking service.

But it is an entirely different question how disadvantageous it is from the economic point of view if in agriculture, which otherwise is coping constantly with transportation problems, the available transportation capacity is not fully utilized, due to a difference in fuel prices. Merely because there is no hesitation to fill up the tank of one truck with cheaper household fuel oil, while the other truck runs on more expensive diesel fuel.

Of course, raising the price of household fuel oil is not the solution! Equal conditions in the competition must not be ensured for the agricultural cooperatives' trucks at the expense of the rural residents who use fuel oil to heat their homes and do their cooking. All that is required is that the possibility of procuring fuel for 30 percent less be taken into consideration when assessing the private truckers' taxes.

1014

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## SITUATION OF CONSUMER GOODS SUPPLY, TOURISM DESCRIBED

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 14 Dec 85 p 5

[Interview with Minister of Domestic Trade Zoltan Juhar by Csaba Egerszegi]

[Text] Tomorrow will be Silver Sunday [second Sunday before Christmas], and in about a week and a half it will be Christmas. The year-end seasonal shopping spree is reaching its peak in the outlets and department stores. Some people leave these places satisfied, others are irritated, and their opinions concerning merchandising, the supply of goods and shopping conditions will be formed accordingly. Consumers are never indifferent as to what they spend their money on and what they receive for it, nor is it irrelevant to them how they are treated by those standing behind the counters. "How are commerce and tourism able to fulfill their functions?" is the topic of our conversation with Zoltan Juhar, Minister of Domestic Trade.

[Question] How does the holder of this portfolio judge this year's supply of goods?

[Answer] First of all, I would like to emphasize that we preserved the global coordination between the purchasing power of the populace and the stock of goods. This year's supply of goods--with the exception of heating fuels--basically corresponded to the demands of the national plan. The food supply continues to be good and on the whole balanced, reflecting the accomplishment of our agriculture and food processing industry, which have been judged favorably even on the international scale. Throughout the year, there was plenty of the most important foodstuffs (flour, sugar, milk). The offering in meats and meat products is adequate, and there has been an improvement in the selection of less expensive meat products. The trade in poultry increased by 10 percent. The supply of healthy low-fat milk and dairy products has been enlarged. We succeeded in producing plenty of potatoes, vegetables and fruits, and offered it to the consumer for prices that were lower than expected.

## Shortages Occurred, Too

There were also shortages of some products. There was not enough sunflower seed oil, prior to the processing of the new crop there was a shortage of spice paprika, and there was not enough processed milk either.



Compared to last year, the stores had improved their stock of clothing articles. This is illustrated by the volume of trade, which has increased during the past few months. Selection improved in hosiery items, warm-up suits and baby clothes. In other items (draperies, upholstery products) there were signs of over-supply. It should also be mentioned here that, due to the limited import opportunities, it was impossible to satisfy all demands for several fashion articles. The supply of industrial goods--with the exception of solid fuels--is somewhat better than it was last year. In building materials, the balance between supply and demand has been reestablished. In spite of more dynamic merchandising efforts, we have not succeeded in satisfying demands for some household appliances (color televisions, refrigerators, freezers). We imported the same number of automobiles as during the previous year, so the waiting period, especially for the much sought-after Ladas and Skodas, has not been reduced. On the other hand, buyers receive their Trabants or Wartburgs within a year of making their payments.

#### Will There Be Enough Heating Fuel?

[Question] During the recent past, the population was most aggravated by the shortage of coal. What can we expect in the future? Will there be enough heating fuel in the yards?

[Answer] Since last winter, the government has introduced several measures to solve the problems caused by the shortage of solid fuels. The mining industry made sacrifices to make up for its past delays, and this year delivered on schedule. We also imported about 800,000 tons of fuel above the planned quantity; this is arriving according to schedule, so that the shortage will be gradually reduced. We have already reached the point where the fuel-yards always have some kind of heating fuel available, although there are shortages of certain sought-after quality domestic and import coals. Based upon our preparations for the next year, we feel that the trend of improvement is permanent.

The changing market conditions call for merchandising methods different from our past practices. We have made sure that, even before the winter season, the population would be able to purchase some kind of coal, and provided a one or two-month supply for institutions (schools, hospitals), making sure that those will be able to gradually replenish their stock. We also introduced the practice of lay-away purchasing of fuels, providing a sense of security for everyone.

The fuel-supply stores honored most of the fuel coupons issued by the trade unions (SZOT), and we hope that before the end of the year we can satisfy every waiting consumer, even if we are unable to provide the type of coal desired.

[Question] What is the ministry doing in order to alleviate the permanent, and annually re-occurring, shortages of industrial goods (color televisions, large refrigerators, water heaters, freezers)?

[Answer] As for the purchase of the items you listed, our country has also reached a stage of generational change. This explains why there has been an explosive increase in the popular demand for these during the past few years. These products of our industries, however, are also popular on the global market. Our problem is that, due to lack of production capacity, our manufacturers cannot simultaneously satisfy the demands of domestic and foreign markets. In the longer run, only the broadening of production capacities could bring a satisfactory solution to this problem. In the meanwhile, domestic merchandising attempts to improve the supply of such appliances by importing them. For example, we are purchasing automatic washing machines from the GDR and from Czechoslovakia, and refrigerators from the Soviet Union. Using the methods of direct barter, domestic merchandising enterprises and cooperatives obtain a large amount of manufactured products (such as Grundig color television sets, Siemens freezers, Gorenje refrigerators) as well as television picture tubes to be used in domestic manufacture, and this lessens the shortage. For example, this year one and a half times as many color television sets and 60 percent more freezers reached the stores than last year. At the same time, the growing demands for modern products caution us to prepare for the proliferation of new items (video recorders, personal computers) in consultation with the interested parties and exercising more foresight.

[Question] What is this year's trend in the import of consumer articles? Will the items obtained through barter serve to increase prices, and how much?

[Answer] As of now, about 15 percent of the goods in domestic commerce are imported. The products purchased abroad serve to satisfy our basic needs, since most of them are not manufactured, or are not manufactured in large enough quantity, or--due to natural circumstances--cannot be cultivated in this country (sewing machines, automobiles, citrus fruits, coffee, tea). There are times when the quantity of import cannot be increased to the level desired, either because of external trade circumstances or the lack of suitable sources. As a result, contrary to our desires, imports became less instrumental in stimulating domestic industries to modernize and follow the fashions.

We purchase a larger share of products from our socialist partners. Nearly 70 percent of the rubel-accountable import is based on international agreements. The direct barter trade of domestic merchandisers and cooperatives, which is increasing each year, is becoming more and more important. Due to various configurations--such as trade along the borders, the weeks dedicated by department stores to the goods of certain nations, or the contacts between sister cities--the selection and the volume of trade along the borders has come to constitute about 30 percent of import from socialist countries, as opposed to the earlier share of 8-10 percent.

Import from the non-rubel accountable areas has increased by a total of 2 percent. Looking at the shop windows, the shortage of goods imported from capitalist countries is not apparent. The reason for this is that our merchandising makes more effective use of opportunities for Western imports. Each year, new international cooperative arrangements are put into effect, through which popular brand-name products reach the domestic market. The

import of Olympos citrus juices, Fa deodorants, Nestle's coffee and cocoa products, Felina and Triumph lingerie and swimwear, Lee Cooper, Levi Strauss, Wrangler and Adidas clothing items are examples of such arrangements. Taken together, the price level of imported goods is rising more slowly than that of domestic products. According to the latest statistics of the Central Statistical Office (KSH), as of the end of September, the price of appliances purchased abroad rose by 3.3 percent as compared to last year, while the price of domestically manufactured goods rose by 6.7 percent. In the category of clothing items, the price increase of imported items is 2 percent lower than that of domestic goods.

#### Our Foodstuff Commerce In Difficult Situation

[Question] We can be proud of our supply of foodstuffs, but, regrettably, the merchandising of foodstuffs is facing increasing difficulties; what is more, the closing of several hundred food-stores implies that the situation is becoming desperate. Tensions are particularly high in the capital city. What suggestions does the ministry have for the solution of the problems?

[Answer] The situation of domestic foodstuff merchandising is not only an economic issue, but also one of politics. Valid consumer demands are increasing. It is natural that consumers wish to purchase their daily necessities under civilized circumstances, in stores that are open in accordance with popular desires. The reason for having most of our problems in Budapest and in the city's environs is the less profitable nature of foodstuff merchandising, as compared to other branches of commerce. In this field, only 1.8-2 of every 100 forints can be considered as profit, while in other areas of commerce profits are around 3-4 forints. Even if we take the governmental subsidies into consideration, in foodstuff merchandising the profit margin has barely changed during recent years. At the same time, certain costs (energy, the price of packaging) have increased, regardless of the economizing measures taken by the enterprises. Thus, the proportion of profits in these fields has decreased. This meant that there was no opportunity for increasing selection to accommodate the demand of the customers, for mechanization, or for the improvement of remuneration. All of these factors led to the deterioration of technological standards and, especially in Budapest, to labor shortage.

The key to improving conditions in merchandising over the long run is the creation of increased profit margin. The government agrees with us in this question, and this is illustrated by the fact that during 1986 the level of profit margins in the retail of foodstuffs will increase by almost a half a percent, primarily at the expense of the national budget. Within two or three years we will attempt to further raise this level. In addition, the state gives various concessions to the food industry, in an attempt to stop the unfavorable trends and improve the circumstances of shopping.

#### Progress With Contradictions

[Question] Can we expect improvements in shopping conditions and the technical equipment of merchandising to be more rapid in the future than they are now?

[Answer] During the period of the Sixth Five Year Plan the network of stores increased more rapidly than planned, in order to keep pace with the increasing demand. In the cities and in the capitals of counties, state and cooperative department stores have been built according to plans. As a result of this, modern shopping centers have been created in Budapest, and these relieve the pressure on the downtown area.

There has also been progress in the supplying of smaller communities. The consumer cooperatives continue to develop the network of merchandising outlets in these localities, in accordance with the plan, and enjoying the support of the National Federation of Cooperatives (SZOVOSZ). However, state and private merchandising must also become increasingly involved in the supplying of these areas.

As for the mechanical and technical standards of merchandising, progress is slower than desired. True, the number of cash registers and refrigerators has doubled during the last decade, but there is still a need for more cash registers and modern scales. At the present time, only 800 electronic cash registers and 500 electronic scales operate in 17,400 food stores. In the near future, we would like to make further progress in these areas, too.

[Question] With the proliferation of stores operated by private individuals on a contract (sublease) basis, does the protection of the customers' interests suffer?

[Answer] Experience shows that the new operational forms have proven themselves in merchandising. They improved the supply of goods and the conditions of shopping, while also contributing to an increase in enterprisal and budgetary receipts. As of today, 32 percent of the retail merchandising network operates in this fashion, and these outlets make 30 percent of all sales. In this area as well, the Ministry devotes great attention to protecting the interests of consumers. Until now, our spot checks have shown that direct financial injury to the customer is less serious in the stores operated by contractors than in the traditional outlets. In test purchases made last year, the proportion of protested items was 17.4 percent, while the national average is 24 percent. Some of the irregularities result from a lack of information on the part of the store operators. Therefore, in addition to the continued control and calling to account, we must also devote more attention to the continuing education of employees in this area.

#### Our Tourism Had A Good Year

[Question] Let us switch to the issue of tourism: In your opinion, how could the past year be evaluated, how did our income in this area develop?

[Answer] Our tourism had a good period last year. There has been increased interest in our country, both on the part of socialist and Western countries. Our hard currency income developed according to our plans. The number of foreign visitors is growing by 13-14 percent, and now approaches 15 million. Interest in our country continues to grow among the countries of the CMEA. The number of arrivals is expected to be 10-10.5 million, or 1-1.5 million more than last year. This increase is primarily attributable to the broadening of

tourism in Czechoslovakia, and it is related to the change in the korona-forint exchange rate. This year, approximately 4 million Hungarian citizens will travel to the other CMEA countries, which--with the exception of Czechoslovakia--roughly equals the average of the previous years. The demand for trips to Czechoslovakia decreased somewhat, due to the previously mentioned changes in the rate of exchange. Our touristic contacts with Yugoslavia have grown significantly; the number of visitors from that country and the number of Hungarian tourists travelling there have increased by 14 and 30 percent, respectively.

We expect nearly 4 million visitors from Western countries, which is 6-7 percent more than during the previous year. During the first ten months our hard currency income (figuring in dollars) has increased by 5.5 percent. In light of this, we expect to reach a 6-7 percent annual growth rate, which equals 280-285 million dollars. On the other hand, we are troubled by the fact that the amount of income per days spent by tourists in Hungary has decreased. As for Hungarians visiting Western countries, we expect 760-770,000 such travellers, which exceeds the figure of the previous year by 20-22 percent. There has been a particularly sharp rise in interest toward shorter shopping trips.

[Question] During recent years, a series of hotels and other facilities have been built with the aid of Austrian loans, and several older facilities have been renovated. Will these investments be justified?

[Answer] During 1985 the number of so-called commercially usable rooms has increased by 30,000 from the previous year. Nearly 3,000 new, or renovated, hotel spaces were at the disposal of guests. The number of privately owned and registered guest rooms has increased by 27,000, and the state's income derived from taxing these facilities has also increased. The results indicate that the regulation of private registered guest rooms, introduced two years ago, has proven itself to be successful.

The projects undertaken as part of the credit agreements between Hungary and Austria will be completed this year. The technical and management experiences of the new hotels are favorable. Their average annual occupancy rate is around 70 percent, and 85 percent of their guests are from Western countries. As a consequence, these hotels will meet, or even exceed somewhat, their loan-servicing responsibilities during this year. Thus, our capacity to receive tourists has significantly increased, especially when it comes to luxury hotels. Our future tasks include, in addition to the renovation of hotels, the development of medium-priced facilities, and the creation of cheaper dwelling units, campgrounds and cabins.

#### Domestic Tourism

[Question] In your opinion, how much progress have we made in the development of domestic tourism? What hinders further progress here?

[Answer] The development of domestic travel continues to be one of the great tasks of our tourist industry. Under present economic conditions, we must concentrate primarily on the broadening of vacationing and excursion

opportunities that are geared to satisfy the more modest demands. For the purposes of touring the countryside, there are more than 1,800 dwelling units in 95 communities at the disposal of domestic travellers. By the end of this year there will be 2,000 spaces in the resort cooperatives. Travel agencies and transportation firms alike concentrate on developing their less expensive programs and services. Just recently the Hungarian Association of Hotels published a pamphlet, offering 50-60 percent reductions at 90 hotels during the pre- and post-season periods. These programs are also aided by the fare reductions offered by the Hungarian National Railroads and Volan [bus company].

During the coming years we expect modest increases in domestic tourism, because demands in this area are influenced by real incomes and the cost of travel. In the improvement of offerings (dwellings, programs) we propose greater participation by the enterprises in the local councils, as well as by private enterprises. We also consider the development of inexpensive dwelling opportunities as one of our tasks.

[Question] The period of the Sixth Five Year Plan will end in December. How did the objectives of Hungarian tourism develop during the duration of the Plan?

[Answer] In accordance with our plans, the structure of our tourism has changed; the share of Western countries grew in travel as well as in the amount of earnings. As for the CMEA countries, the surplus income from tourism multiplied by one and a half times by the end of the period (to amount to 210-220 million convertible rubels, while the actual number of travellers has not changed significantly since 1980. Our earnings from the tourism of CMEA travellers during the duration of the plan will add up to 1.4 billion convertible rubels, of which 900 million is surplus income.

The number of those who arrive from Western countries has doubled, exceeding our plans. Our hard currency earnings have grown by 60 percent, and in the period of five years added up to 1.3 billion dollars. During the same period the number of Hungarians travelling to Western countries has increased by one and a half times.

[Question] Once again, we are facing multiple holidays: How did the profession prepare for the peak period in food shopping?

[Answer] Merchandising, together with all involved institutions, began to prepare for the year-end holiday season in time. We made sure that the supply of all basic foodstuffs would be plentiful. In order to assure a good supply of bread, merchandising and the bakeries utilized extraordinary reserves. Naturally, this also means that there will be more pre-baked and bread with preservatives in the stores. The supply of meats and meat products will equal the good standards that came to be expected during the previous years. There will be 3-4 percent more freshly cut meat, and 15 percent more poultry in the stores. In order to provide the traditional holiday meals, there will be plenty of turkey, pig knuckles and sausage. The quantity of fish will be similar to what was available last year.

Once again this year, the temporary holiday stores (such as the Golden Gate and the Gift Centers, etc.) have opened in the capital city and in the larger towns. Shopping will be made easier by the fact that from the middle of December the appliance stores of Budapest and the larger towns will have longer hours of operation. We also made sure that during the days immediately before the holidays the operating hours of larger outlets, markets and stores be in closer harmony with the demands of the customers.

[Question] Thank you for the conversation.

12588

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## PARTY'S EFFORTS TO KEEP CLOSE TIES TO MASSES EVALUATED

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 25 Dec 85 pp 3, 4

[Article by Muharrem Xhafa, chief of education sector in CC of AWP: "A Broader Conception and a More Creative and Effective Realization of Ties With the Masses"]

[Text] Ties with the masses have always been an important matter and have continually occupied a special place in the activities of the party organs and basic organizations and of their levers. But under present conditions, it is necessary that these should be conceived more broadly and that they should be more effective and organized and better realized in practice, in the struggle against manifestations of bureaucracy, officialism and formalism, which lead to the separation of the communists and cadres from the masses and to the weakening of ties with them.

A broader vision in this area as well was opened to the party, the organs of authority and the economy, the mass organizations and the whole people by the very valuable instructions and advice given by Comrade Ramiz Alia during his visits to several districts of the country. In the first place, there is now a strikingly great appreciation of and concern with going to the grassroots and there are more efforts to ensure more vital and effective ties and encounters with the working masses by means of various forms. The cadres in the central organs and in districts have been going more to enterprises and agricultural cooperatives, to schools and military units. But the number of days which the cadres spend at the grassroots marks, so to speak, an achievement and is only an index of improvements which are being made. The important fact is that the ties between the party committees, the state organs and organisms and the social organizations and the workers and cooperativists, soldiers, pupils and students are being continually broadened. They are not limited to participation in seminars, meetings and analyses of party bureaus and organizations or mass organization councils and forums. They are also being realized through other activities: direct meetings in fields and production workshops, leisure activities, individual consultations and discussions with artists and specialists, often outside official environments, as well as through joint work, especially in recent months, with workers and cooperativists and in voluntary actions and work.



Ties with the masses constitute a great matter of content and principle, and they have a deep revolutionary significance. They are in no way an aim in themselves and cannot be limited to a few physical meetings and measured by the number of days spent by cadres at the grassroots or the number of people with whom they meet. The urgency of the work as a whole and, in this area, the closest connection of the communists and cadres with the masses involves the party's requirement that we should have a better and more timely knowledge of their problems and troubles, their thoughts and observations on work and people, and that action should be taken so that they find the required solutions in the appropriate time. If, for example, there is damage to socialist property, if foreign manifestations occur, particularly among youth, if a considerable number of pupils and students are kept behind every school year and absent themselves from school, if there are cases in art and literature, in the press organs, in radio and television, etc., where the life and vigor which have been expended in the bosom of the party and the masses for the realization of tasks are not up to the required level, then the work of the appropriate organisms cannot be said to have been at the level required by the times and the effect of ties with the masses and the grassroots, regardless of their numerical quantity, leaves something to be desired.

For the role which the cadres have in the realization of tasks, their vital ties with the masses make the need imperative for greater assistance to the grassroots in overcoming, as soon as possible, difficulties, shortcomings and weaknesses which manifest themselves. It is especially necessary that they work more and give greater assistance in combatting manifestations of bureaucracy, officialism and formalism in their work with the masses, because such phenomena appear in the activities of some cadres and communists who often do not listen to the voice and opinion of the masses, who procrastinate and do not resolve their just requests and grievances, and who do not stand at the forefront of tasks. The masses seek and welcome to their bosom those cadres and activists who help them resolve tasks and who clear up their problems and open horizons to them. This also happens with the party organs and organizations, with the mass organizations and those of the press, radio and television, education, etc., which seek and eagerly welcome those cadres who go to them well prepared, open horizons for them and help them resolve their tasks at a higher level. This is by no means fortuitous, but a result of close links which are maintained with scientific level, and of the desire to have in their midst such scientists and specialists as those of the Shkoder Institute of Corn and Rice, the grain sector of the Institute of Agricultural Research in Lushnje and many cadres and specialists in other fields.

Both effectiveness in work and effectiveness of ties with the masses depend on the preparation that is made to face problems in all their aspects on knowledge of the concrete situation and the people we manage, on the manner and language in which we communicate with them, as well as on our example and direct commitment to the realization of tasks. Such preparation to know, face and resolve problems often goes wrong and is not made at the same level by all cadres, neither for the problems they pursue in the office nor when they go to the grassroots. Before we go to a district, Comrade Enver teaches

us, we must be well acquainted with its condition and especially with the problem we will pursue, with what we will control, observe and analyze; otherwise, he continues, we fall unwittingly into the position of an observer and a listener and we are not in a state to give our considered opinion.

Ties with the masses and direct relations of communists and cadres with them constitute party work and, as such, cannot be accomplished outside working hours, just as communication with the people cannot be made with official papers and receptions. It requires, therefore, a closer spiritual bond with the masses, which is achieved when you are among them. "We do not have to designate a day for reception of workers in the office," say the management cadres of the "Misto Mame" wood combine in Tirana, when they speak about their experience of ties with the masses, "because we go to the workers every day. We meet and talk with them: they tell us their troubles and their observations about the work, and this practice is accomplished by the director, the party secretary and every brigade leader." They also receive workers in the office, but the data indicate that in this model combine, few workers are directed to the administration office. Comrade Enver taught us that in the sound ties of the party with the masses, officialism dies.

In order to realize such ties with the masses, a thorough comprehension is necessary, together with more initiative, more stimulation, organization and control, and a struggle against manifestations of spontaneity. We may say that we are far from what the party has instructed for management cadres: that on a Saturday or Sunday we should arrange a program and go to a village, a mine, a boarding school, a military unit, etc., for a leisurely meeting and talk with people, in order to explain and clarify a directive for them or to talk about their situation. This has not become a practice and work is needed to transform it into a good tradition and an organic part of the method of management. "When the leading local party and government administrators go systematically among the masses, when they become acquainted with and take into account their progressive opinions on the problems which concern them," instructs Comrade Ramiz Alia, "they set the whole apparatus into motion, save them free from office work and bring them close to the workers."

When the cadres go down to the grassroots, especially the cadres of the ministries and districts, and meet with cadres, specialists, workers and cooperativists, care must be taken so that they do not limit themselves only to the problems of the sector or to the problems which they cover as a sector. We say this because in practice it seldom happens that when they return from the grassroots, they bring back problems concerning other sectors and even in basic organization meetings, few questions are raised about the others. Broad interests are needed in the meetings and other forms of ties with the workers, communists, and districts because account is not taken of the fact that regardless of the sector in which someone works and regardless of the problems covered by the ministry from which he comes, issues are raised for resolution within the jurisdiction that has been given by the party and the state. Having ties with the masses, instructs Comrade Ramiz Alia, constitutes going to the worker and the cooperativist, to the pupil and the soldier, knowing their difficulties and troubles, resolving them on the spot and preventing solutions based on favoritism and interference of involving official documents and bureaucratic orders.

Another important problem is the further extension of radius of the movement at the grassroots. What happens? In some cases, it is limited to a few districts and enterprises, and many other districts and enterprises are left out. This does not mean that there should be a fixed number of times for visits to this or that district or to this or that enterprise, agricultural cooperative, school or military unit, but that there should be the most accurate planning possible and the most complete knowledge possible of the problems that exist. This knowledge is not gained solely by means of written information that is sent or by means of telephone calls, but by means of visits by their managers for reports and consultations. It is seen lately that the "geography" of visits to districts has been widened by many ministries, which have made interesting studies. It is important to bear this well in mind also because of the fact that through a more thorough knowledge of the problems of the districts, enterprises, etc., the cadres will be in a better condition to make suggestions and give more concrete directives for realizing tasks, as well as being more competent in the duties they cover.

Closer ties with the grassroots and the masses and better knowledge of their life and activities must also be reflected in the level of materials which are prepared and the analyses and discussions which are developed, as well as in the quality of problems which are raised and, generally, in a more obvious emancipation of these activities. We say this because there is often a tendency toward observation: few problems are raised and there is a lack of concrete proposals and measures which should be taken to resolve tasks. The education sectors of the party committees of districts, in particular, must make good observations and generalizations of the advanced experience which has been gained in overcoming difficulties and resolving tasks by the organs and organizations of the party and their levers. They must engage in wide propaganda through the press, radio and television, through publications and oral and visual propaganda and through the most effective emulation, so that our means of education and propaganda may assist as much as possible in diffusing more widely the experience and example of innovators in the work of the party and social organizations, as has been done with the experience of party and government organs in the Lushnje District and several other districts.

A very important area of ties between the party and the masses is constituted by the mass organizations. The party has always considered the work with its levers as absolutely necessary in order to realize its goals and program. The greater and more important the tasks which the party accomplishes, the more its concern and work increase with the mass organizations. From this viewpoint, they play a particularly important role in the education and mobilization of workers for the realization of the party's program. Certainly, each of the mass organizations has its own specific work. It must bear this in mind, but the strength of the single front among them, under the leadership of the party, is also needed.

12249/6662  
CSO: 2100/18

## FORMER TURKS ADDRESS PROTEST TO TURKISH PRIME MINISTER

Sofia OTECHSTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 28 Nov 85 p 3

[Open letter to the Prime Minister of the Republic of Turkey from a group of Bulgarians from the Peoples' Republic of Bulgaria who have reestablished their Bulgarian names, dated 27 Nov 1985. Passages in slantlines rendered in bold face in text.]

[Text] Mr Turgut Yozal, We protest most vigorously against the systemic attempts that you are making in your capacity of prime minister of Turkey to interfere in the internal affairs of our homeland -- the People's Republic of Bulgaria -- and in our actions -- those of Bulgarians who have reestablished their names. As prime minister, you are undeniably right, and we would say morally obliged, to speak about and be concerned for the situation of the citizens of Turkey, but you have no right to speak on our behalf, trying to reduce us to the object of your self-seeking speculations and political games.

By flagrantly making unfounded accusations and warlike threats against the peace-loving Bulgarian people, you allow yourself to violate elementary political ethics.

We are disgusted by your efforts to justify all this before the highly responsible forum of the General Assembly at the UNO, and in other places with non-existent clauses in bilateral and international treaties. You no doubt know that there are no treaties that give you the right to interfere in foreign affairs, nor can there be.

You, Mr Prime Minister, and some of your ministers and officials are also concerning other international forums with questions belong to the exclusive competence of Bulgarian citizens, and then you submit to your own people that your slanders about Bulgaria find international support. But who has upported you in these attempts, and when? Why are you deceiving your own people? Do you think that such lies will pass?

We know the Turkish people very well. For centuries on end we lived side by side. The present-day Turkish people are politically mature. You can mislead them for a while. But then sooner or letter they will hold you responsible.

We are convinced that your actions will remain in the history of the Republic of Turkey as the grossest provocation against the Bulgarian people and against the people of the Republic of Turkey, who have proved that they can live in peace and good neighborliness. These actions, Mr Yozal, are a loud demonstration of imperialist feelings and aspirations. With what right do Turkish officials distribute in Muslim countries a map fabricated in Turkey showing that two-thirds of the territory of Bulgaria (including our sacred Batak, Perushtitsa and our ancient capitals of Pliska and Preslav) are lands inhabited by a non-Bulgarian population?! Is that not an expression of your illusory, imperial appetites and intentions toward our homeland? Your behavior recalls the pompous, presumption of an Ottoman vezir, but that is long since history.

You and your followers are attempting to cover up your imperialist pretensions under the veil of concern for the rights of Muslims in Bulgaria. There is no well-intentioned politician in the world who has visited the People's Republic of Bulgaria and not seen with his own eyes and not appreciated the freedom enjoyed by all religions in our country. You know this very well. However, you attempt to suggest other ideas about which we for our part are categorical, and we declare: the fact that some of us confess the Muslim faith is no reason for us to be considered Turks. What right do you have to confuse the religious and national feelings of Bulgarians who confess Islam. Your attempt to strike the attitude of spokesman for the Muslims of Bulgaria, of sole spokesman for the Muslim world, is both strange and disgraceful. Bear in mind that not a single Bulgarian -- neither atheist, nor Christian nor Muslim, has fallen into such a position that he needs your concern and protection.

As a political figure, Mr Yozal, you know very well that such attempts and attitudes are in gross contradiction of the Turkish constitution. On its very first page is written, black on white, that the Turkish citizens exist only in "indissoluble unity with the Turkish state", that no ideas can contradict the principle of laity, which requires "the separation of the affairs of church and state".

We would like to ask you what connection there could be between Muslims, who are Bulgarian citizens, and the Turkish state that you take upon yourself the right to speak on their behalf. As far as we know, you have not been proclaimed a caliph for the Muslims of the world to consider the Muslims in our country as your religious flock on that basis.

Since you like to pose questions to different international forums, would you tell us what has happened to the thousands of Bulgarians who live in Turkey? What is the fate of the Armenians, Greeks, Kurds, Arabs, Assyrians and Albanians and others in your country? How is their national survival reconciled with article 66 of the Turkish constitution, according to which every subject of the Republic of Turkey is a Turk, or with the 1934 law of compulsory change of family names which obliges every citizen of Turkey to take for his family an assumed name, irrespective of his nationality?

Why, Mr Prime Minister of the Republic of Turkey, do you in your statements stubbornly avoid speaking about the condition of human rights and

nationalities in your country? You remain silent about the 5 million unemployed, about the millions of Turkish citizens who are exiled from their own hearths and condemned with their families to seek subsistence in foreign countries! You mention nothing of the millions of Turkish young men and women, deprived of the right and the opportunity to receive an education and find their place in life! And what about the Kurdish children, condemned to illiteracy and misery?! Maybe it is precisely with respect to the Turkish citizens that you should be disturbed and show your concern for human rights! Admit that it was awkward for you and the rulers of the Turkish people the day you dared to slander our country and its citizens, on the very day that the European Parliament once more condemned Turkey for the lack of the most elementary democracy and for violating basic human rights.

People who live in glass houses shouldn't throw stones.

We Bulgarians who have reestablished our Bulgarian names don't expect answers to questions that are ours alone. They are clear to us and categorically resolved by us.

We hope, Mr Yozal, that you are still able, in your capacity of Prime Minister, to make a sober assessment of your actions up to now, draw the necessary conclusions and take the necessary steps in the name of neighborly relations and cooperation between our countries and peoples.

/Kamen Kalinov/, Member of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Deputy to the National Assembly, chief editor of NOVA SVETLINA, honored cultural worker, Master of Arts (History).

/Nadya Asparukhova/, Candidate Member of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, Member of the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, secretary of the okrug committee of the BCP, Kurdzhali.

/Aleksandur Kolev/, Candidate Member of the CC of the BCP, public worker, Master of Arts (Philosophy).

/Blaga Tatarova/, Candidate Member of the CC of the BCP, member of the Bureau of the National Committee for the Defence of Peace, member of the Committee of the Bulgarian Women's Movement, Master of Arts (History), active fighter against fascism and capitalism.

/Orlin Zagorov/, Deputy President of the Council for the Development of Spiritual Values of the PRB, member of the Committee for Culture, PhD (Philosophy).

/Radi Semov/, Member of the Central Control and Revisory Commission of the BCP, Secretary of the okrug committee of the BCP, Kurdzhali, Master of Arts (Philosophy).

/Khristo Marinov/, Deputy to the National Assembly, Secretary of the National Council of the Fatherland Front.

/Nikolay Antonov/, Secretary of the okrug committee of the BCP, Shumen.

/Radul Chavdarov/, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Dimitrov Communist Youth Union.

/Asen Sevarski/, Member of the Union of Bulgarian Writers, poet, Deputy Chief Editor of NOV ZHIVOT, honored cultural worker.

/Zarko Khranov/, Member of the National Council and President of the okrug committee of the Fatherland Front, Kurdzhali.

/Svetlana Dilova/, Candidate Member of the CC of the BCP, member of the bureau of the okrug committee of the Bulgarian Women's Movement, public worker, Shumen.

/Yulia Pirinska/, Member of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Professional Unions, President of the okrug committee of the Bulgarian Professional Unions, Razgrad.

/Alen Arnaudov/, public worker, deputy chief of department in the National Council of the Fatherland Front.

/Aldemir Siderov/, Assistant Professor at the Sofia University "Kliment Okhridski, PhD (History).

/Naum Shalamanov/, twice world champion weightlifter, honored master of sports.

/Mikhail Yanchev/, Member of the Union of Translators in Bulgaria, journalist, teacher at the Sofia University "Kliment Okhridski".

/Miryan Topchiev/, Chief Mufti.

/Andrey Andreev/, Journalist, member of the editorial board and chief of department at NOVA SVETLINA, Master of Arts (History).

/Marin Kolarov/, Secretary of the okrug committee of the BCP, Turgovishte.

/Yuliana Khristova/, Deputy to the National Assembly, public worker, student at the Sofia University "Kliment Okhridski".

/Sabotin Tasev/, Editor-in-chief at Bulgarian television.

/Vladimir Feradov/, long-serving public worker in Sofia, active fighter against fascism and capitalism.

/Delyan Tetev/, Member of the National Committee of the Fatherland Front, Sofia.

/Anton Iliyanov/, Member of the editorial board and chief of department at NOVA SVETLINA.

/Apostol Orlinov/, Secretary of the okrug committee of the Fatherland Front, Turgovishte.

/Subin Shterev/, honored master of sports, chief wrestling coach in the okrug committee of the Bulgarian Union of Physical Education and Sport, Turgovishte.

/Svetlana Yosifova/, public worker, Popovo.

/Boril Kosev/, hero of socialist labor, president of the agroindustrial complex in the village of Venets, Shumen okrug.

/Boryana Rafaylova/, okrug advisor, worker and tutor at the Partizanka tobacco combine, Shumen, awarded the gold medal of labor.

/Emil Demirev/, rayon mufti in Shumen.

/Engineer Deyan Chaushev/, Secretary of the okrug committee of the BCP, Silistra, okrug advisor.

/Subina Marinova/, hero of socialist labor, weaver in the Dobrudzha factory, Silistra, member of the okoliya industrial combine, Silistra.

/Radi Deyanov/ Deputy president of the municipal council of culture in the town of Glavinitsa.

/Aneta Asenova/, Member of the National Council of the Fatherland Front, secretary of the municipal committee of the Fatherland Front, Ruen.

/Sider Khadzhiev/, rayon mufti in Aytos, Burgas okrug.

/Ulyana Kirova/, Member of the okrug committee of the BCP, secretary of the party committee at the grain fodder combine in the town of Tolbukhin, okrug advisor, awarded the Order of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, third degree.

/Sergey Radomirov/, Head physician at the rayon hospital in Tervel, Tolbukhin okrug, honored physician.

/Khuben Khubenov/, rayon mufti in the town of Tolbukhin.

/Subi Khadzhiev/, active fighter against fascism and capitalism, public worker from Haskovo.

/Khristo Nikov/, Member of the bureau of the municipal committee of the BCP, president of the municipal committee of the Fatherland Front, town of Kotel, Sliven okrug.

/Lyubomir Aleksiev, Deputy to the National Assembly, leader of the vintner's brigade in the village of Medovets, Varna okrug.

/Sokol Khubenov/, worker in the technical control section in the instruments and non-standard equipment plant at the Record combine, Plovdiv.

/Chavdar Kurdov/, rayon mufti in Plovdiv and temporarily managing the office of mufti in Kurdzhali.



/Anatoli Rafaelov/, Chief Director of LVK [not further identified] Sukhindol, Veliko Turnovo okrug, municipal advisor, member of the municipal committee of the Fatherland Front, president of the Lozen physical education association.

/Khristomir Mikhaylov/, ballet master at the Rusen People's Opera.

/Emiliya Kovacheva/, hero of socialist labor, Dimitrov Prize laureate, former worker in the Dunavska Koprina combine, Ruse.

/Lyudmil Anastasov/, hero of socialist labor, honored master of sports, world wrestling champion.

/Andrey Radoslavov/, hero of socialist labor, leader of the complex brigade in the village of Trapishte, Razgrad okrug.

/Iliya Georgiev/, rayon mufti, Razgrad.

/Zina Tikhanova/, honored teacher, teacher at the V. Kolarov ESPU [not further identified], Razgrad, public worker.

/Sanya Dervisheva/, active fighter against fascism and capitalism, Pleven, spouse of an active member of the BCP who perished in the fight against fascism.

/Marina Zarkova/, public worker, chief of department at NOVA SVETLINA.

/Emiliya Gavazova/, member of the Central Committee of the Union of Bulgarian Teachers, deputy director of the elementary school in the village of Mlechino, Kurdzhali okrug.

/Martin Kamenov/, hero of socialist labor, leader of the Georgi Ivanov construction brigade at the construction and installation combine, Kurdzhali.

/Andrey Videnov/, brigade leader in the tobacco producing brigade in the village of Boyno, Kurdzhali okrug.

/Marin Raychev/, brigade leader in the exploitation brigade in the Zvezdel mine, Kurdzhali okrug, awarded the Georgi Dimitrov medal.

/Subi Shterev/, Town hall secretary and secretary of the primary party organization in the village of Turnovtsa, Turgovishte okrug.

/Felina Arsova/, Mayor of the village of Kus, Shumenski okrug.

/Ana Marinova/, Gymnastics coach, DFS [not further identified], Gabrovo.

/Neli Dervisheva/, teacher at the P. Yavorov ESPU, Pleven, daughter of an active member of the BCP who perished in the fight against fascism.

12907

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## INTERVIEWED WORKERS COMPLAIN AGAINST CORRUPTION

Sofia OTECHESTVO in Bulgarian No 22, 26 Nov 85 pp 18-20

[Interviews conducted by Milena Angelova and Khristo Peev]

[Text] Managers -- young people from the Liliya Karastoyanova youth labor collective in the watch resonator workshop in the factory for electronic transformer elements in Sofia. The collective had already fulfilled its 5-year plan as early as the middle of July this year, and in honor of the forthcoming party congress it will deliver about two and a half million leva over plan. For two years in a row it has been the capital's leader. Almost all the products manufactured here are intended for the USSR, and, as far as quality is concerned, there's a comsomol guarantee: for a whole 10-year period there has not been a single claim! And for this the young people have been awarded a diploma by the Consulate of the USSR in Sofia. They work under the motto of "the hero is always on duty", and every day the young people fulfil a norm on behalf of their boss. There's no confusing words and deeds. The great truth of our life is created. All the more concern, therefore for the resilience that the other "small truth" is showing.

This conversation is a sequel. A sequel of a similar discussion from six years ago, in which we posed questions in the pages of OTECHESTVO concerning all those phenomena that poison the climate of our relations. We spoke about the so called "connections" and the all-powerful intercessors who change the fate of lives with a single telephone call, and the effect of the motto "there's a different set of rules for my man". The replies of over 70 young workers and employees did not reassure us: 90 percent stated that they did not believe that we could overcome all this. In some of them, a formed inner understanding unambiguously echoed that the existence of such a "second network" was almost a natural phenomenon of social life. In other words, these people had built up in their consciousness the corresponding reflection -- a "second network" of "principles" and "values" which protect the conscience from moral conflicts. But does it protect them from moral damage? We searched for a reply to this question with our new interviewees.

/OTECHESTVO:/ You are all young people. To take your place in your profession, and in life, you have to compete with your peers. Do you have the foregone conviction that sometimes candidates are not on an equal footing?

/Savina Nikolova, 21 years old, production controller, married:/ Today, if you are a realist, you should not forget that there are people with connections

everywhere. Against them, you set knowledge, skill, the will to establish yourself, all things which, they have taught you, will guarantee success in life. But in competing against the fellow with connections, these things turn out to be insufficient to bring you success.

/OTECHESTVO:/ Are you saying this based on your own experience, or simply because a lot of people think that way?

/Veselina Mileva, 22 years old, assembler of quartz elements, single:/ Unfortunately, I can confirm that entirely on the basis of personal experience. My first contact with connections came quite early. After seventh grade I applied for the high school of art. I drew well and had taken special preparation. I passed the examinations, but my grades were not enough. I thought that there were better and more talented people than me. I was ready to revise my opinion, and that of those around me, about my capabilities, when it turned out that among those who registered there were applicants with lower grades than mine, and even some who had not taken the examination. That was my first such disappointment, and I took it badly.

/Radoslav Makedonski, 20 years old, assembler of quartz elements, single:/ The second time it's easier, and after the third time you accept that there's no other way.

/V. Mileva:/ Really, I took the second disappointment more easily.

/OTECHESTVO:/ But what happened with the drawing? Your present profession has nothing in common with it?

/V. Mileva:/ I mastered the manipulations fast and now I work well. At least the others say that I am one of the best. But I must confess that I don't hold out any prospects in connection with this profession. It wears you out fast -- the norm, the constant stress, the shifts. Colleagues who have been here for seven or eight years are having difficulty holding out. I shall look for something more suitable, although at the moment I have no idea what that will be.

/OTECHESTVO:/ Well then, is it possible to live in today's world without connections?

/Elka Popova, 27 years old, assembler of quartz elements, single:/ It's possible, that the way they teach us. A young person steps out into the world in the knowledge that work and qualities determine a person's place. But you set out on your own journey and you see that it is not always like that. Connections, intercessions, fawning... as if at every step. And you have to be very strong and firm to stay true to the honest principles that you were brought up with.

/OTECHESTVO:/ At every step -- isn't that an exaggeration?

/E. Popova:/ This is what happened to me in just one day. I went to buy bread. For the saleswoman's friends there was warm bread, for me only cold bread. I went to the greengrocers -- from the backdoor they were handing out bananas,

for me there were none. I went to the shoestore -- the style I liked was sold out, but some clients were quietly taking those very boots from closed boxes. And so it goes on, every day, for years on end. So now people begin to see intercessions and connections even when they aren't there. If some young person is suddenly promoted at work, if he wins an important competition, or has a big success, invariably the lie goes out that someone is behind him. Maybe not, but those around can't see it.

/OTECHESTVO:/ And that's one of the ways in which negative phenomena damage the consciousness.

/E.Popova:/ It's not the only one. The shadow of doubt falls not only on the person in question who, with all his ability, feels guilty because he is not in a position to prove to everyone that his success is honest. We lose faith in the conformity between words and deeds. It has reached the point where a fellow hates his dreams because they make him miserable and an incorrigible idealist ahead of time.

/OTECHESTVO:/ Let us ask again. Are you saying this on principle or do you have a concrete example in mind?

/E. Popova:/ On principle but I have an example. A close friend of mine applied for university together with a fellow student. My friend got a "4" on the examination, his friend got a poorer grade. Their diplomas are identical. But they accepted the second fellow because his father is a "big gun".

/OTECHESTVO:/ Strange.

/V. Mileva:/ Not to take you with a "4" on the examination is simply incredible.

/E. Popova:/ There's something else incredible too. That the boy didn't make any effort to find out why that happened, to defend his rights. He kept saying that there was no sense, that they wouldn't tell him the truth anyway.

/Aneliya Stoyanova, 25 years old, assembler of quartz elements, married:/ Of course they won't tell him the truth. These things are always done on the quiet, as if no-one knows the truth. I know, because something like that has just happened to me. For several years my family has been listed as a priority as being in severe need of a place to live. At about the same time the neighbors were listed too; they were also living in an unsanitary, small apartment like ours. However, when homes were assigned, the neighbors received an apartment and we got a polite refusal and a request to be patient until next year. We went to the council, asked on what grounds the decision was taken, but everyone shrugged their shoulders and confirmed that that was the way the commission decided. The neighbor was more honest and confessed that if we didn't find our own man we would be waiting a long time. And she was right. At the next assignment, again there were other people who turned out to be more needy, and again they asked us to be patient.

/OTECHESTVO:/ You're officially listed as very needy?

/A. Stoyanova:/ Yes. We have children and comply with all the conditions.

/OTECHESTVO:/ How many years have you been waiting for somewhere to live?

/A. Stoyanobs:/ Since 1980, 5 years already.

/OTECHESTVO:/ Don't take this as a provocation, but do you think that you can live without connections?

/A. Stoyanova:/ You can, but badly ... (laughter).

/Maria Ignatova, 23 years old, assembler, married:/ Personally, I have difficulty imagining such a beautiful picture of life in which noone uses connections for anything.

/OTECHESTVO:/ You speak as if you have never run for help to "your man".

/M. Ignatova:/ Why strain my conscience? Of course I have. Life is such that if you want to start work, then someone has to say a couple of good words for you.

/Retort:/ What work? As a bartender? (Laughter)

/M. Ignatova:/ Sometimes. The most ordinary work. Factory work. Take me, for example. When I came to work at the factory I was pregnant. And don't you know that noone cares to see such applicants anywhere. So my mother-in-law, who has been working here for years, had to help.

/OTECHESTVO:/ Do you discuss these things with your acquaintances and peers?

/M. Ignatova:/ We discuss them, and we've decided that, rather than disappearing, connections are expanding more and more. In spite of the fact that we are all supposedly struggling against them.

/OTECHESTVO:/ Are you sure about that "more and more"?

/M. Ignatova:/ I'm sure.

/OTECHESTVO:/ And are you sure that you're struggling?

/M. Ignatova:/ I'm trying. Even though I hardly use them myself. You'll tell me that I'm contradicting myself; didn't I just say that I started work thanks to an intercession. But I was entitled to get this job. They give priority to pregnant women and mothers of small children, don't they?

/OTECHESTVO:/ Yes, that's really interesting. Generally, it's considered that a person uses connections to work his way toward something to which he is not entitled. Yet in your case it turns out that sometimes you need connections to get something that would be yours anyway.

/P. Makedonski:/ That's what's so good about connections. They work for all kinds of situations. It's a sure thing! (Laughter)

/Ruska Cholakova, 27 years old, assembler, single:/ Your question is very basic. And quite serious. It happens sometimes that without connections and intercessions you are unable to take a place which is rightfully yours according to all the rules. For example, I graduated from the technical school for electronics. I'm a qualified weak-current technician and was assigned to this factory. It would have been logical and correct for me to get a job in my speciality, in maintenance. All of us who were assigned thought so, but then it was clear that some kind of discrimination against skirts was in operation, and they didn't want women in maintenance. If I had been able to unearth some kind of connection, may be they would have made an "exception" and I would have performed at the factory the kind of work for which the state has paid to educate me for years on end. But I don't have connections and now I'm an ordinary worker.

/OTECHESTVO:/ And your unused knowledge from technical school is becoming obsolete.

/R. Cholakova:/ Not only mine. All the girls who were assigned here after technical school.

/OTECHESTVO:/ And you feel helpless to change things?

/R. Cholakova:/ Absolutely. On the whole, in answer to your question as to how we can struggle against connections, intercessions and such improper things, I want to say that the struggle is difficult because you feel alone. Injustice is done to many people but everyone bears the consequences alone, and even those closest to you shrug their shoulders: "We sympathize, but we can't help you".

/V. Mileva:/ And that's the hardest discrepancy between words and deeds. Apparently, we're all denouncing these undesirable things -- you are writing against them in the newspapers, we repudiate them at meetings and in private conversations, but in practice nothing changes.

/OTECHESTVO:/ You said "discrepancy"; is there something like that here?

/P. Cholakova:/ Of course. For years on end we have been asking about some day rooms that we need in the workshop. We don't have a room where we can sit to eat our snacks.

/E. Popova:/ And then we're mostly women. We need to take a break, to fix ourselves up.

/R. Cholakova:/ The very first time we made our requests the factory management promised us that they would meet our requests. And for years we've had promises.

/R. Makedonski:/ A promise is the most polite form of refusal. (Laughter)

/OTECHESTVO:/ It's strange that you should say that, when you have made a comsomol promise of production without rejects and when for 10 years now you haven't had a single claim.

/R. Makedonski:/ It seems that the comsomols can keep their promises.

/Zhasmina Todorova, 28 years old, statistical controller, single:/ In my opinion, the majority of young people leave school with a well-built value system. And in this system, consistency in fulfilling a positive act takes chief place. The fewer blows below the belt to the value system, the greater are the guarantees that the person stays true to it. Because what are connections, confusing words and deeds and groundless promises, if you haven't been hit below the belt?

/Nikolay Boev, 27 years old, organizing secretary of the factory committee of the DCYU (Dimitrov Communist Youth Union):/ All this is true and I confirm it. I shall just clarify how things stand with the question of this day room. Because it looks as if the workers keep their promises and the bosses don't. The thing is that a basic expansion has been included in the next 5-year plan for our factory. It is economically unsound to make temporary expansions before then. We simply have to wait a little longer.

/E. Popova:/ I am sure that something could be done even now. There are rooms in the factory that are used only a few times a year. At the same time, 100 women have to wait for years to get at least one day room. Our good work is constantly stressed. Do we really not deserve this small convenience.

/OTECHESTVO:/ It goes without saying that you deserve it, and we are sure that you will get it. But what you say leads us to think that the cause for the negative phenomena is due to the fact that not everyone has an exact criterion of what is their due, what they can demand of their surroundings and of society. What, in your opinion, builds this criterion; who helps the young person to form it himself?

/R. Makedonski:/ First of all, experience. It's like with children. As they reach out for something that isn't for them, they get their fingers slapped. If they're slapped twice, they don't reach out a third time.

/Z. Todorova:/ Yes, but with adults, some get slapped on the fingers and others are helped to grab the wealth that isn't theirs.

/E. Popova:/ The most amazing thing is that such injustice sometimes shows up with regard to children. At first I told you that I was single, actually I'm divorced with children. My son is only six but he has already noticed that some of his little friends in kindergarten are privileged. Identical offences do not receive identical punishment. Identical efforts are not met with identical praises. In the courses they take, it's always one and the same children who recite poetry and one and the same who form the background. After a series of recitations, my son asked: "Mommy, isn't it my turn now?" How can I tell him that his turn won't be coming soon.

/OTECHESTVO:/ What is the principle of selection in your opinion?

/E. Popova:/ The professions of the mother and father and how they might be of use to the teacher.

/OTECHESTVO:/ Why don't you look for some type of connection with the teacher. After all, we're talking about helping your own child?

/E. Popova:/ I wouldn't do it. If he learned to expect my help, then later he wouldn't find the incentive within himself to reach his goals alone. And that's a type of moral disability.

/Z. Todorova:/ Maybe that is the surest way to struggle against connections and intercessions. Simply to exclude them as a possibility from the consciousness of our children.

/M. Ignatova:/ Or else to create some sort of collective way of struggling against them.

/N. Boev:/ There is such a way -- the comsomol and party organizations, the strong relationships inside the collectives. For example, I am sure that if a protected person, without the necessary qualities, appeared in your collective he would very soon feel that his place was not there.

/Z. Todorova:/ Yes, a natural selection operates in production. Only those who can remain, those who can't resign. But I'm not sure that it works like that in the non-productive sphere.

N. Boev:/ There's something else too. For example, I haven't heard of anyone being punished for using connections.

/OTECHESTVO:/ How could they punish him if he had connections! (Laughter)

/N. Boev:/ But in order to act successfully against these phenomena, people must be punished not just morally, but by the state, by the law.

/OTECHESTVO:/ Now we come to the question of whether you, sitting in this room, have found this conversation useful, and what conclusions have you reached for yourselves?

/S. Nikolova:/ Of course, it has been useful. Because a person has to begin to think so as to understand that the apparently innocent "small truth" destroys large and valuable things, that its small offensives may discourage even the most adamant person, drive him to feel deceived and robbed of his most beautiful aspirations.

/V. Mileva:/ I must confess that the discussion has been useful in as much as I really began to think about these things. That hadn't happened until now. And the conclusion is that we have to fight against them. And although I still don't know how, I shall still try to find my way in this battle.

/E. Popova:/ This isn't the first time I've had a discussion like this. And it surely won't be the last. My sincere wish, however, is to live to see the day when such deliberations are superfluous.



/R. Makedonski:/ For me the conclusion is that young people are in a position to influence a successful resolution of the problem. I'm only afraid that this will take time.

/R. Cholakova:/ For myself, I drew the conclusion a long time ago: I don't use connections. I see that that is not enough and the phrase "Well, what does that have to do with me" is actually the first step toward legitimizing the negative in life.

/A. Stoyanova:/ There are those among my colleagues who think that I got my place in the factory with connections. That makes me bitter and I try to refute it with my work.

/M. Ignatova:/ Let's hope we don't remain with discussions. Let's hope we find the strength to act as well as we talk.

/Z. Todorova:/ In this discussion, we established that you don't need connections to become a worker. (Laughter) I believe that the young people must be the most irreconcilable toward negative phenomena. Until they safeguard their ideals and dreams, until they clearly differentiate good and beautiful from evil and ugly. Until they are not resigned to become "like the others".

/N. Boev:/ I don't know why during this entire discussion I was thinking of those young people who, let's say, in 1942 went to face the bullets and the gallows in order to defend their ideals. As I listen now to talk of connections, intercessions and intrigues that take the place of principles and even ideals, I'm revolted. That's why I think that discussions such as these must be held everywhere. And, more important, with our actions we should say "enough" to all moral deformations.

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## SUEDOSTEUROPA STUDY OF 1985 PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS

Munich SUEDOSTEUROPA in German No 10, 1985 pp 536-560

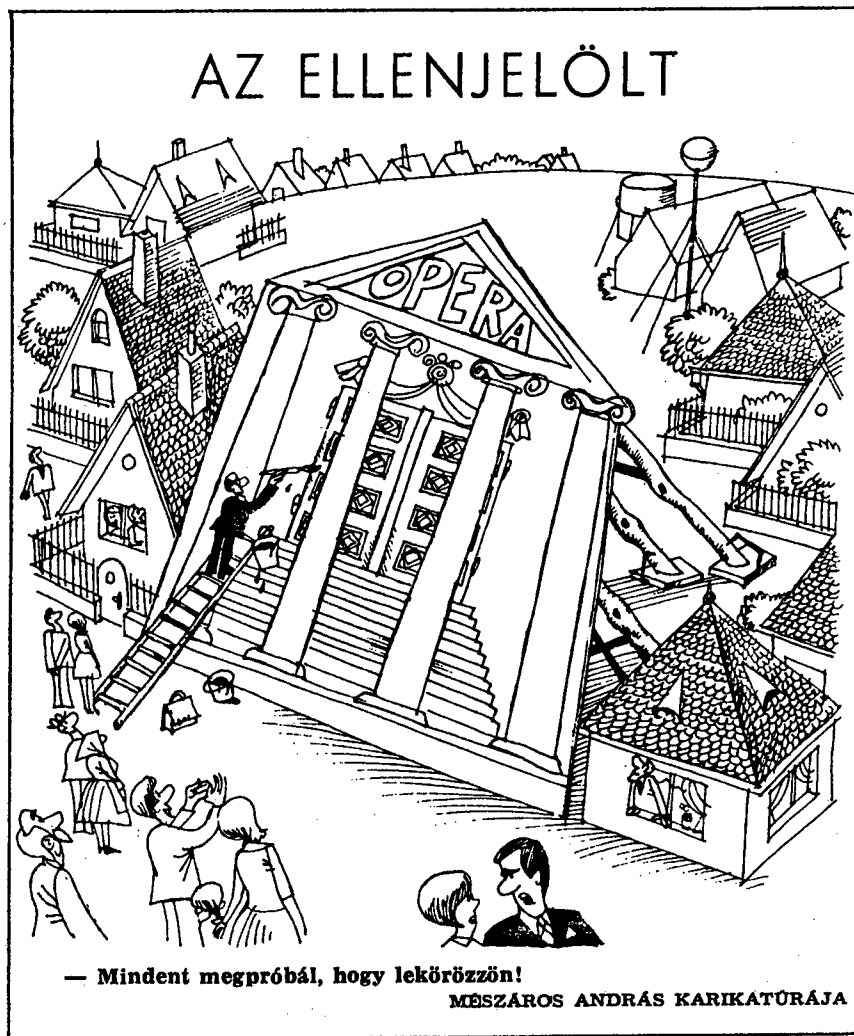
[Article by Goetz Mavius, PhD, a scientific collaborator at the Historical Institute of Hamburg University: "The 1985 Parliamentary Elections in Hungary"]

[Text] On 8 June 1985 the tenth parliamentary elections since 1947 took place in Hungary.<sup>1</sup> Since these were the first elections according to the new election Law III/1983,<sup>2</sup> which entailed some vital changes, they attracted considerable attention, especially in the Western press.<sup>3</sup> The election attracted attention among observers of many years, especially on account of its possible importance in connection with the economic reforms. In Hungary the connection between the economic reforms and the reform of the "work of the people's representations"<sup>4</sup> was not only seen but expressly emphasized.

#### The Legal Basis

Therefore the 1985 parliamentary elections should not be viewed in isolation. Without going here in detail into the norms and principles laid down in the constitution (Law XX/1949 in the new version by Law I/1972 with the changes by Laws I/1975 and II/1983), it can be said about the election practices: Law III/1983 forms a further step on the road of an electoral law reform, which was initiated with Law III/1966.<sup>5</sup> At that time election districts were formed with one direct seat each in the parliament, which was obtained by the candidate with the absolute majority. The law specifically initiated the possibility of several candidates in one election district. This possibility was made use of in 9 election districts in the subsequent 1967 parliamentary elections. When with Law III/1970<sup>6</sup> the nominating monopoly of the Patriotic People's Front, (Hazafias Nepfront, HNF), an umbrella organization of various associations, social organizations and of the MSZMP, was broken and the nomination of candidates was entrusted to voter meetings, the number of districts with more than one candidate rose to 49 in the following parliamentary elections in 1971, among them one district with three candidates. Thereafter the number of districts with two candidates declined from 34 (1975) to 15 (1980).

Instead of reacting negatively with haste to the apparently clear disinterest of the people in voluntary multiple candidacies and abolishing this possibility directly or indirectly, the progressive forces in the state and party leadership



Caption: The Opposition Candidate

"He tries everything to overtake me."

NEPSZABADSAG, No. 121 of 25 May 1985, p 21

Cartoon by Andras Meszaros

recognized that this reaction of the voters had its origin in the fear of too much involvement, in intimidations or obstacles by conservative elements of the state and party hierarchy and many others, which also had a lasting effect in the case of the 1985 election. The step taken with the 1983 election law eliminated some of these causes. Two candidates became obligatory in all election districts, who were proposed by the HNF at voter meetings but did not have to be accepted and could be replaced or supplemented by new candidates--if they received at least one third of the votes in two meetings.

For the "election campaign" two weeks more than in the past were available. That in the time from 15 April to 8 June much more than in the past an election campaign--i.e. a competition in the representation of assumed or actual voter or local interests--was involved is proved by various statements in the press, but especially impressively by an Andras Meszaros cartoon.<sup>7</sup> Under the heading, "The Opposition Candidate," it is shown how someone erects the facade of an opera house in a village with paint and papier-mache, accompanied by the applause of the public. The emptiness of this sham structure is clearly discernible. The comment on the event is: "He tries everything to overtake me." Laszlo Rozsa reports on actual cases in which violations of the democratic rules occurred during the election campaign because of unsureness in dealing with the new legal opportunities:

It also happened that the heads of the election meetings showed unsureness if an official candidate was not chosen, a strongly deviating opinion was advocated or the local leadership criticized. Cases are known where attempts were made to induce spontaneous candidates to quietly withdraw. Now and then in small places an action was started by families or friends to get their own candidate accepted.<sup>8</sup>

However, the end result was a success and vindicated the legislators: in 58 of a total of 352 election districts more than the two obligatory candidates were nominated, including twice as many in four election districts. Thus a greater success was immediately achieved with the first election following the new law than in the second election following Law III/1966, in 1971, in which a measure of familiarization must be taken into consideration. The trend that will be shown by the coming elections will depend very greatly on the work of the new parliament up to 1990. The intra-Hungarian discussion on a reform of the work of the parliament in direction of its expansion and upgrading cannot be discussed here. An interview with the president of the parliament, Sarlos,<sup>9</sup> one month prior to the election, however, does not lead to the expectation of far-reaching fundamental changes.

#### The Election Procedure

Since the 1975 election, the country has been divided into 352 electoral districts. Since 15 April 1985 nominating and election meetings have taken place in each of the districts. Altogether<sup>10</sup> 702 meetings with 1.5 million participants were counted, i.e. roughly 20 percent of the qualified voters actively participated in the election campaign. But the actual share is likely to have been somewhat lower than that officially announced, arithmetically correct figure,

since the unknown number of participants in several meetings must be deducted. To nominate a candidate, it was necessary for the candidate to receive at least one third of the votes at two separate meetings. In this process, the two figures of votes and participants were added together for the evaluation. In most cases the procedure was raising of hands and counting from the rostrum; thus courage for the vote was necessary.

In the 352 districts, 867 persons competed for a candidacy, of which 715 were proposed by the HNF and 152 by the meetings. At the meetings 97 percent of all HNF proposals were confirmed and only 50 percent of the voter proposals, for which reason the 766 candidates consisted to 90 percent of HNF candidates (696) and only 10 percent of voter candidates (70). According to statements by Istvan Horvath, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, of 26 June 1975, 78 of the 766 candidates were proposed by the voter meetings.<sup>11</sup> Accordingly, only 688 candidates were HNF proposals and 27 HNF proposals were rejected. Assuming that all third and fourth candidacies were based on voter proposals, an HNF candidate competed with a voter candidate in 16 districts and maximally in 278 districts (78.9 percent) the choice would have been between HNF candidates exclusively.

The numerically small rejection of 19 or 27 HNF proposals (only 2.7 or 3.8 percent) nevertheless appears to have met with criticism within the HNF. "A functionary of the Patriotic People's Front felt that in future public opinion must be sounded out more carefully to limit even more the circle of the official candidates that are not accepted by the election meeting." However, the NEPSZABADSAG commentator regarded this "as natural, as healthy, as an essential expression of the democratic voter wish."<sup>12</sup> This report reveals three things: firstly, there are circles to whom this form of democracy goes too far; secondly, HNF candidates are called "official candidates," which labels the voter proposals as "informal," as almost against the rules; and thirdly, there are party circles whose understanding of democracy is more liberal and goes beyond the forms practiced until now. The above quoted commentator even asks the question "whether...or not the practice of the one-man candidacy--with all its consequences--has not lasted too long."

For all that, the ideological-political leeway for the candidates is narrowly limited; although they need not be party members or to accept the party program, they must identify themselves with the HNF program (closely associated with the MSZMP). A position against socialism was completely out of the question.

After the nomination of the candidates at the meetings, they were checked by the National Election Presidium, which was largely identical in terms of personnel with the HNF, which, however, led to rejection and new nomination in only one case. In addition to the candidates for the direct seats, the National Election Presidium for the first time drew up a national list which comprised 35 persons. Thus parliament becomes bigger than in the last three legislative periods by the size of this group and numbers 387 persons.

On election day, voting was done by national list and direct seat on separate ballots and with separate procedures. One ballot contained the 35 names of the national list. From it one, several or (by a diagonal line) all names could be crossed out. All the remaining names were valid. The second ballot contained the candidates for the direct seat. Here all but one name had to be crossed out,

Table 1: Basic Figures of the 1985 Parliamentary Elections

	absolute Zahlen (1)	v. H. der (2) Wahlberechtigten
Einwohner (1.1.1985) (3)	10658000	
LANDESLISTE (4)		
wahlberechtigt (5)	7728208	100,00
abgegeben (6)	7265915	94,02
gültig (7)	7210495	93,30
ungültig (8)	55420	0,72
DIREKTKANDIDATEN (9)		
wahlberechtigt (5)	7568480	100,00
abgegeben (6)	7103146	93,85
gültig (7)	6716387	88,74
ungültig (8)	386759	5,10
für die Kandidaten (10)	6636685	87,69
gegen die Kandidaten (11)	79702	1,05
NACHWAHL (12)		
wahlberechtigt (5)	827096	100,00
abgegeben (6)	686613	83,02
gültig (7)	678235	82,00
ungültig (8)	8378	1,01
für die Kandidaten (10)	670239	81,04
gegen die Kandidaten (11)	7996	0,97

Source: MAGYAR KOZLONY, No. 24 of 9 Jun 85, p 569 (misprint in NEPSZABADSAG, No. 134 of 10 Jun 85, p 1); MAGYAR KOZLONY, No. 26 of 23 Jun 85, p 625.

Key:

- |                                 |                            |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Absolute figures             | 8. Spoilt votes            |
| 2. % of qualified voters        | 9. Direct seats            |
| 3. Inhabitants (1 January 1985) | 10. For the candidates     |
| 4. National list                | 11. Against the candidates |
| 5. Entitled to vote             | 12. Runoff election        |
| 6. Votes cast                   |                            |
| 7. Valid                        |                            |

who was then regarded as having received an affirmative vote. If the voter's choice was not clearly recognizable, the ballot was considered as void. Only if all names were individually crossed out was the vote regarded as a vote against.

Beyond that, the two procedures were handled in different ways: for the national list, voting could be done any place (thus also at a vacation spot) against production of the required papers; for the direct candidates the vote could be cast in the electoral district only. This explains the differences in election participation of roughly 160,000 votes. Since the voting system in the case of the direct candidates was rather complicated, there were relatively many void ballots. Moreover, participation in the election was lower than in all preceding elections since 1949 (94.66 percent). Steven Koppany's speculation<sup>13</sup> that the appeal of the Hungarian dissidents for the boycott of the election had such a broad effect appears to overestimate the degree of intra-Hungarian awareness of the appeal and is not quite plausible.

The explanation by HNF General Secretary Imre Pozsgay<sup>14</sup> to start with does not look very valid, namely that the weekend vacationers who had left early had abstained since in 1980 the voting was done on exactly the same day (8 June), which then was a Sunday. If the disinterest additionally cited by Pozsgay is specified and the election system is taken into consideration, then the picture emerges: in 1985 more vacationers did not vote at the vacation localities because they could not participate in the more interesting part of the election, the direct seat. Aside from that, there remains a hard-to-explain "grey zone" of abstentions which in this election undoubtedly was bigger than in 1980. Excessive apprehensiveness over the new, this system-inherent aversion to taking risks that is known from the history of the economic reform, may have played a special role here.

The fact that the election system was regarded as complicated was reflected in the detailed descriptions and explanations in public. A pocket book on this topic was published in the Kossuth publishing house in the series "What Do We Have to Know?"<sup>15</sup> And in NEPSZABADSAG<sup>16</sup> alone four explanations (in part with pictures) on the system were reprinted, including a cartoon with the characteristic title "We are just learning it!" Palliative was the assessment of the chairman of the national elections executive, Lajos Papp, who, in view of the complexity, stressed: "It is therefore noteworthy that the number of spoilt votes was relatively low."<sup>17</sup> Obviously the national election executive had expected a larger percentage.

Of the valid votes cast, a candidate had to collect half of those cast in the first ballot on 8 June. Thus the results as in the case of the previous eight elections with figures between 97.07 and 99.7 percent could not be expected from the outset.

If no candidate received the absolute majority in a district, there had to be a runoff election on 22 June. For this purpose, the entire nominating process had to be repeated in an abbreviated form. As a result, there were changes in the lists of candidates between main election and runoff election. The duty to nominate two candidates continued, so that in electoral district 5 of Zala County no runoff election could take place because shortly before the election

Table 2: Number of Candidates per Electoral District in the Main and Runoff Elections

Bezirk (1)	Kreise (2) davon (3)		angesetzte Nachwahl in Kreisen (7)				(4)		(5)	
	mit 3 Kand. (4)	mit 4 Kand. (5)	Kreise mit mehr als 2 Kand. (in %) (6)	mit 2 Kand. (8)	mit 3 Kand. (4)	mit 4 Kand. (5)	mit 2 Kand. (8)	mit 3 Kand. (4)	mit 4 Kand. (5)	(5)
HAUPTSTADT (10)	67	7	0	10,4	1	5	0	3	3	0
Budapest										
KOMITATE (11)	14	3	0	21,4	0	3	0	3	0	0
Baranya	20	4	0	20,0	0	1	0	1	0	0
Bács-Kiskun	15	3	0	20,0	1	0	0	1	0	0
Békés	26	5	2	26,9	0	2	2	2	2	0
Borsod	16	3	0	18,8	1	2	0	2	0	1
Csongrád	13	2	1	23,1	0	1	1	0	1	1
Fejér	15	4	0	26,6	0	3	0	2	1	0
Győr-Sopron	18	3	0	16,7	0	3	0	3	0	0
Hajdú-Bihar	12	0	0	00,0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Heves	10	1	0	10,0	0	1	0	0	1	0
Komárom	8	1	0	12,5	0	1	0	0	1	0
Nógrád	29	3	1	13,8	2	1	1	2	2	0
Pest	12	1	0	8,3	0	0	0	0	0	0
Somogy	20	3	0	15,0	0	2	0	0	2	0
Szabolcs-Szatmár	15	3	0	20,0	1	1	0	1	0	1
Szolnok	9	2	0	22,2	0	1	0	1	0	0
Tolna	10	2	0	20,0	0	1	0	1	0	0
Vas	13	1	0	7,6	1	1	1	1	1	0
Veszprém	10	3	0	30,0	0	2	0	1	1	0
Zala										
Summe (12)	352	54	4	16,5	7	31	4	24	15	3
						42		42		

Source: NEPSZABADSAG, No. 121 of 25 May 85, pp 2-3; No. 134 of 10 Jun 85, pp 1-3 (these incorrectly on p 1: runoff election in 45 districts); No. 142 of 19 Jun 85, pp 1 and 3.



Key:

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1. Administrative District                      | 7. Scheduled Runoff Election in Districts |
| 2. Districts                                    | 8. With 2 Candidates                      |
| 3. Including                                    | 9. Following New Nomination               |
| 4. With Three Candidates                        | 10. Capital                               |
| 5. With 4 Candidates                            | 11. Counties                              |
| 6. Districts With More Than 2 Candidates (in %) | 12. Total                                 |

two of the candidates withdrew. In the runoff election, the simple majority sufficed, which in only 14 cases remained below the absolute majority and which in two cases was expressed only in the second decimal place.<sup>18</sup> If a candidate failed to receive the seat but had more than 25 percent of the votes, he thus automatically becomes the deputy's potential replacement and moves up (in case the deputy leaves).

#### The Results

After conclusion of the nominating procedure it was established that in 58 of 352 electoral districts more than two candidates had been nominated. Far above the national average were the counties of Borsod, Győr-Sopron and Zala, in which three and four candidates had been nominated in more than a quarter of the districts. Only the voters of Heves County completely failed to do so.

In 42 electoral districts none of the candidates achieved the absolute majority. Herein were included two-thirds of the three-candidate districts and all four-candidate districts, but also 7 districts with two candidates. While in 1985 no runoff elections had to be held only in two counties (Heves and Somogy), in 1980 runoff elections had taken place in only two electoral districts: in one electoral district with two candidates and in another in which the sole candidate had died shortly before the election. At that time, the election committee had arranged the by-election on its own. Following Law III/1983, the procedure of the runoff election was newly regulated by legislative action.<sup>19</sup> The measure shows that such an increase in the share of runoff elections had been assumed.

For the runoff election of 22 June 1985, there were 105 candidates instead of the former 123 candidates with 24 having two candidates; 15, three candidates; and 3, four candidates. Twenty-nine candidates withdrew between the ballots, 14 new candidates were nominated of which 7 attained a seat.

#### The Deputies

A broad spread depending on the personality of the candidates characterizes the total picture of the election results. The extremes are, on the one side, the

12 deputies who during the main election on 8 June (all against one competitor only) barely won with percentages between 50.1 and 50.5 and on the other side the 6 candidates who received more than 80 percent of the votes.<sup>20</sup> What is remarkable in these results is the fact that among the 12 very narrow victors, there are 5 reelected deputies and 3 additional deputies of 1980 correspondingly were barely disqualified, while among the 15 most clearly outstanding victors with a share of 75 percent of the votes or higher, there were only 3 deputies elected in 1980, but in 2 districts former deputies were very clearly defeated.

At the head of this popularity scale there are some nationally known personalities such as Deputy Prime Minister Marothy (87.7 percent = first place), Central Committee Secretary Szuros (85.7 percent = second place), Central Committee Secretary Berecz (75.5 percent = 13th place), above all, however, locally known personalities such as school directors, agricultural producer cooperative chairmen, factory directors or physicians and only to a slight extent, state and party functionaries. Remarkable is the victory of the first vice-president of the Hungarian National Bank, Janos Fekete (Bekes 11), who was nominated at a nominating meeting and received 76 percent (11th place) of the votes against two candidates.

#### The National List

In contrast to the widely diverse election behavior in the case of the direct seats, the results of the national list offer a uniform picture to which we are accustomed for elections in socialist countries. Of the 35 candidates, 12 received 99.1 percent and 22 obtained 99.2 percent of the votes. The result of 98.8 percent, which the president of the National Council of the Labor Unions (SZOT), Sandor Gaspar, achieved does not fit into this very narrow framework. Since 1965 top labor unionist, he was clearly part of Hungary's top leadership as Politburo member and deputy chairman of the Presidential Council on the one hand, as president of the WFTU on the other hand. Especially in view of the uniform result of the national list, the slight downward deviation of 0.4 percent acts like a clear rejection.

The composition of the personnel of the national list moreover shows the effort to represent all interest groups of the population. Only 24 of the list candidates had been nominated for election by the people in 1980; HNF general Secretary Imre Pozsgay had moved up later on. The other 10 members are newcomers in the parliament. Thirteen representatives of the national list do not belong to the MSZMP. Istvan Sarlos, the top representative of the legislature and old as well as new president of the parliament is entitled to be named as first candidate of the national list, which otherwise is strictly alphabetically arranged. The government is represented in the national list by Prime Minister Lazar. From the Presidential Council, there are here its chairman, Pal Losonczi, his two deputies, Sandor Gaspar and Rezso Trautmann, as well as the secretary Imre Katona, in addition to 7 old and 3 new members elected on 28 June of the total of 17 members, who, however, in addition hold other substantial positions. The 5 leading full-time members of the party organization look rather modest next to the other groups even though the first secretary of the party youth organization (KISZ), Csaba Hamori, and two representatives of the HNF (Gy. Kallai and Pozsgay) are included. In addition to General Secretary Kadar and his deputy Nemeth, 8 of the 13 Politburo members, but only 2 of the 6 Central Committee secretaries and 13 of the 105 Central Committee members were included. In this

connection it must not be forgotten that these groups of persons are congruent. With this composition, a clearly advanced leadership role of the party cannot be asserted.

The Protestant-Reformed and the Protestant-Lutheran church as well as the Jewish religious community and the Free Churches have one high-ranking representative each, the Roman Catholic Church even two. However, they were unable to induce one of the bishops or even Cardinal Lekai to become a candidate, in contrast to Bishop Barthá (Protestant Reformed) and Bishop Kaldy (Protestant Lutheran), president of the Lutheran World Federation, as well as Chief Rabbi Salgo, who died shortly after the election on 24 July 1985.

On the national list the four national minorities in Hungary (Germans, Romanians, Slovaks, South Slavs) are represented with one deputy each as well as the Federal Council of Hungarian Women, the cooperatives and the labor unions (see above). The Hungarian Academy of Sciences nominated three Presidium members as candidates. An actor and a sculptor who is also a member of the HNF Presidium, represent the fine arts. The last group is formed by 5 persons whose professional designation is indicated as retired persons. What is involved here are former high-ranking representatives of public life (2 former ministers, a former vice-mayor of Budapest, a former representative of the agricultural producer cooperatives and a former director general of the Hungarian news agency MTI), of whom three are members of the Presidential Council.

In summary, it is to be emphasized that the national list actually tries to represent the entire country, whereby the women with 5.7 percent and the economic sector (without any representative of industry or of the senior executives) are, however, clearly underrepresented. No effort is recognizable to clearly give preference to the party functionaries and the members of the government and to obtain safe seats in the parliament for them. But the national list forms only less than one tenth of the new parliament and its composition is considerably different from the group of the 351 direct seats.

#### The Direct Seats

If the composition of the 1985 parliament is compared with that of 1980, some clear differences are conspicuous. The comparison in Table 3 follows the occasionally difficult-to-comprehend categories of the Hungarian party parlance.

If the classification by occupations is examined and the figures<sup>21</sup> submitted by Sandor Barcs, President of the Mandate Commission and former president of the Hungarian news agency MTI, to parliament with those mentioned by Central Committee Secretary Istvan Horvath on 26 June 1985 in his speech to the MSZMP Central Committee, extensive differences attract notice in one point. Barcs spoke of 133 workers in parliament (=34.5 percent) while Horvath spoke of a share of 21 percent workers in parliament (=81 percent). A check of these figures by means of the occupational designations of the deputies in the list of candidates reveals that there are only 35 workers and 13 (mostly working in industry) foremen. A generous one tenth (depending on whether or not the foremen are included with the workers: 9.1 or 12.4 percent) of the deputies can be classed as workers.

The figures reveal a dilemma: The word "worker" is part of the name MSZMP while the realistic connection declines. So as not to lose the ideologically necessary

Table 3: Classification of the Parliament According to Social Factors, 1980 and 1985

		1980		1985	
		absolut (1)	%	absolut (1)	%
Nach Beschäftigung	(2)				
Arbeiter	(3)	158	44,9	133	34,5*
Bauern	(4)	46	13,1	16	4,1
Geistesschaffende	(5)	130	36,9	179	46,4
Angestellte	(6)	17	5,1	58	15,0
Übrige	(7)				
		352	100,0	386	100,0
Davon	(8)				
parteilos	(9)	100	28,4	89**	23,0
weiblich	(10)	106	30,1	82	21,2
unter 30 Jahren	(11)	44	12,5	21**	5,4

\* According to NEPSZABADSAG, No. 151 of 29 Jun 85, p 2: 133 workers (=34.5%); According to NEPSZABADSAG No. 151 of 29 Jun 85, p 5: 21% workers and foremen (=81 persons).

\*\* Absolute figures not mentioned; extrapolated from the percentage figures according to NEPSZABADSAG, No. 151 of 29 Jun 85, p 5.

Source: "A szocializmus utjan," Budapest 1982, pp 578-580; NEPSZABADSAG, No. 121 of 25 May 85, pp 3-5; No. 134 of 10 Jun 85, pp 2-3; No. 142, of 19 Jun 85, p 3; No. 146 of 24 Jun 85, p 3; No. 151 of 29 Jun 85, pp 2 and 5.

Key:

- |                            |                           |
|----------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1. Absolute                | 7. Others                 |
| 2. According to occupation | 8. Including              |
| 3. Workers                 | 9. Nonparty               |
| 4. Peasants                | 10. Female                |
| 5. Intellectuals           | 11. Under 30 years of age |
| 6. White collar workers    |                           |

claim, the number of workers is artificially raised by changing categories. Thus Sandor Barcs spoke misleadingly of the "original occupations" of the deputies. The contradiction became evident in his other figures: 282 deputies have a university or college degrees. Almost three quarters of the parliament consist of academicians. A total of 113 deputies have a doctorate. If Sandor Barcs' figures are taken literally, then at least 29 "workers" with degrees sit in parliament.

The attempt to structure the occupational data of the deputies provided in the list of candidates leads to the following picture (Table 4). Managerial employees in industry from the director to the plant manager occupy one fourth of the seats. Managerial employees of the cooperatives in the broadest sense, especially from the agricultural sector, raise the share to nearly four tenths. The two quality controllers form a kind of hybrid, since they can no longer be regarded as managerial employees but on the other hand are removed from the workers. Foremen and workers have been discussed above.

Behind all these categories the peasants are also hidden whose dwindling share has not become visible at all up till now. Thus there are a department manager and a group manager, two plant managers, 4 workers and 2 foremen who are working in agriculture. Together with 40 agricultural producer cooperative chairmen and 2 state farm directors, there would be 52 deputies who have to be regarded as active in agriculture as their regular occupation and as "peasants" in the broadest sense of the word. Thus their share is three times that indicated by Sandor Barcs.

The group of employees mentioned in Table 3 is even more difficult to specify. It probably comprises those employed by the state, the municipality or economy who make their living by nonmanual, dependent work. But most of the intellectuals, too, make a living from such work (i.e. as white collar workers). To make distinctions is difficult here. Excluding the few self-employed persons, all deputies except for those expressly making a living from manual labor as workers and foremen could be so designated.

The professional functionaries form a group which officially does not exist. The labor union functionaries had to accept some considerable losses in this election. The SZOT president, Gaspar Sandor, as mentioned above, had been elected by means of the national list. The general secretary, Mehes (Budapest 44), only replaced on 4 March 1985, was directly elected while the present SZOT secretary, Istvan Gal (Tolna 3) and Sandor Nagy (Hajdu-Bihar 13) were defeated. Of the big labor unions, only the general secretary of the Agricultural and Forestry Workers Union (Pest 6) gained a seat, while his colleagues of the Chemistry Workers Union and of the Iron, Metal and Electric Energy Industry Workers Union (Budapest 67, Borsod 12) were defeated. The union secretaries of Budapest (district No. 40; in competition with a plant labor union secretary), of the counties of Bacs-Kiskun (4), Komarom (1) and Veszprem (13) as well as two plant labor union secretaries (Budapest 62, Heves 1) were, however, accepted by their voters.

The MSZMP functionaries also emerged from the election weakened by one third. While in 1980, 47 full-time party functionaries were deputies, their number was reduced to 33, and, if the national list deputies are deducted, to 26. A total

Table 4: Occupational Designations of the Deputies, 1985

		(1) gesamt	davon Dr. (2)
Direktoren	(3)	56	21
Abteilungsleiter	(4)	12	1
Gruppenleiter	(5)	17	0
Betriebsleiter	(6)	16	0
	26,2%	101	22
LPG-Vorsitzende	(7)	40	11
Staatsgutsdirektoren	(8)	2	0
Genossenschaftsleiter	(9)	7	1
	12,7%	49	12
Qualitätskontrolleure	(10)	2	0
	0,5%	2	0
Arbeiter	(11)	35	0
Meister	(12)	13	0
	12,4%	48	0
Gewerkschaftler	(13)	9	2
MSZMP-Funktionäre	(14)	33	6
HNF-Funktionäre	(15)	5	1
	12,2%	47	9
Minderheitenvertreter	(16)	4	0
	1,0%	4	0
Regierungsmitglieder	(17)	13	4
Ratsvorsitzende	(18)	20	7
Polizeiangehörige	(19)	1	1
Militärangehörige	(20)	4	0
	9,9%	38	12
Geistliche	(21)	7	1
Lehrer	(22)	28	14
Ärzte	(23)	32	30
Ingenieure	(24)	11	2
Juristen	(25)	3	3
MTA-Angehörige	(26)	4	4
Bibliothekar	(27)	1	0
Journalisten	(28)	6	4
Künstler	(29)	5	0
	25,1%	97	58
Insgesamt	(30) 100,0%	386	113

Key:

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1. Total                                      | 16. Representatives of minorities                |
| 2. Including those with doctorates            | 17. Members of the government                    |
| 3. Directors                                  | 18. Council chairmen                             |
| 4. Department managers                        | 19. Members of the police                        |
| 5. Group managers                             | 20. Members of the military                      |
| 6. Plant managers                             | 21. Clergymen                                    |
| 7. Agricultural producer cooperative chairmen | 22. Teachers                                     |
| 8. State farm directors                       | 23. Physicians                                   |
| 9. Managers of cooperatives                   | 24. Engineers                                    |
| 10. Quality controllers                       | 25. Jurists                                      |
| 11. Workers                                   | 26. Members of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences |
| 12. Foremen                                   | 27. Librarian                                    |
| 13. Labor unionists                           | 28. Journalists                                  |
| 14. MSZMP functionaries                       | 29. Artists                                      |
| 15. HNF functionaries                         | 30. Total  |

of 52 functionaries had been candidates. Of these 14 faced each other in 7 districts, which thus were safe for the party. Among the 26 victorious candidates here were one former and 2 active Central Committee secretaries, 3 Central Committee staff members, 11 party secretaries on county level, 4 on city level and 3 on plant level. In addition there is the former president of the Central Party Control Committee, Janos Brutyo and a very young and--basically contrary to all expectations--successful functionary: a local representative of the party youth organization KISZ, Gyula Szucs, defeated the Central Committee Secretary of long standing, former minister and confidant of Janos Kadar, Bela Biszku, in the runoff election with 50 percent more votes and relegated him to third place of the three-candidate competition in the main election and the runoff election (Szabolcs-Szatmar 16). The high voter participation of 97.9 and 97.6 percent, respectively, excludes the fortuitousness of the result as well as the fact that Szucs was able to widen his lead over Biszku from 2.8 to 12.1 percent. The voters decided clearly and consciously against the representative of the conservative wing in the MSZMP.

Table 5 offers a survey of how the party management is represented in parliament. The qualitative difference between the group represented on the national list and the group of those elected by direct vote is conspicuous. It is shown in the distribution of the Politburo members (10:2). Karoly Grosz was the only one not a candidate. Two of the 6 Central Committee secretaries were on the national list, two others were in competition, the other two (Istvan Horvath, who later commented on the result before the Central Committee, and Pal Lenard) did not become candidates.

Barely three tenths of the Central Committee members sit in the parliament in which they constitute a modest 8.03 percent. If only those with direct seats are considered, then the Central Committee members constitute only 4.56 percent. Nevertheless they are a group standing out from the mass because on the average 67.1 percent of the voters expressed their confidence in them. Thus they are a marked 8 percent above the national average. To rate this result as a vote in favor of the MSZMP would perhaps be rash since in most cases they hold more important positions outside the party which in the eyes of the voters undoubtedly frequently had priority. Various factors are decisive for the fact that they came off well: in addition to the personal popularity, the reward of office, occasionally also the habit and the lack of an attractive opponent. The question concerning possible manipulation raised in this connection cannot be answered on the basis of the available documents. Even though rumors might harden into suspicion in an individual case (for which there is no indication at this time), under no circumstances is it possible to assume a general line, as the negative election results show.

In addition to Bela Biszku, 7 functionaries were defeated on county level (including 5 who are retired); 9 on city level (including one retired); 4 on municipality level; 4 on enterprise level; one KISZ representative and two more prominent representatives of ideological indoctrination: Istvan Huszar, director of the MSZMP Party Historical Institute (Borsod 18) and Erno Molnar, director of the Research Institute for Marxism-Leninism of the Gyor colleges (Gyor-Sopron 3). Thus the number of defeated functionaries with 28 persons is nearly as big as that of the successful full-time functionaries with 33 persons (see Table 5).

How unsure the functionaries felt as candidates can be deduced from the fact that 5 functionaries did not stand for the runoff election following an inadequate election result on 8 June and abstained from being candidates again.<sup>22</sup> The weakened picture of the party organization (with a declining share from (1980) 13.3 percent to (1985) 8.6 percent) is in unexpected contradiction to the rising share of party members (from 1980) 71.6 percent to (1985) 77.0 percent).

Among the biggest losers of the election is its organizer: the HNF. As a result of the national list, its president, Gy. Kallai, and its general secretary, Pozsgay, had safe seats, while the vice-presidents, Mrs. Szentivanyi (Baranya 10) and L.S. Hegedus (Pest 24) did not succeed in acquiring the confidence of the voters. The HNF county secretaries of Hajdu-Bihar (district No. 8) and Szabolcs-Szatmar (8) gained election to parliament while their colleagues from Baranya (1), Komarom (6) and Zala (2) were defeated. The HNF secretary of Budapest and deputy of many years (Budapest 56) entered parliament with a bare 50.1 percent; however, his colleagues from Kalocsa (Bacs-Kiskun 16) and Sarkad (Bekes 15) failed to do so. Thus in 7 of 10 cases the voters decided against the HNF.



Table 5: Members of Parliament With Simultaneous Function in the MSZMP

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
	Abgeordneter 1980	ZK-Mitglied	Politbüromitglied	ZK-Sekretär	Stellvertretender Generalsekretär	Generalsekretär	Wahlergebnisse 1985 (%)
<b>Landesliste: (8)</b>							
Duschek, Mária Schönláber		x					
Gáspár, Sándor	x	x	x				
Hámori, Csaba		x	x				
Havasi, Ferenc	x	x	x	x			
Kádár, János	x	x	x			x	
Kállai, Gyula	x	x					
Katona, Imre	x	x					
Lázár, György	x	x	x				
Losonczy, Pál	x	x	x				
Németh, Károly	x	x	x		x		
Ovari, Miklós	x	x	x	x			
Péter, János	x	x					
Pozsgay, Imre		x					
Sarlós, István	x	x	x				
Szabó, István	x	x	x				
<b>Direktmandate: (9)</b>							
Aczél, György (Baranya 1)	x	x	x				70,3
Apró, Antal (Csongrád 1)	x	x					73,7
Rerecz, János (Szabolcs-Szatmár 6)		x		x			75,5
Borbély, Sándor (Budapest 34)		x					61,1
Brutyó, János (Nógrád 2)	x	x					54,2
Cservenka, Ilona Székely (Pest 4)	x	x					60,8
Karakas, László (Hajdú-Bihar 12)	x	x					67,3
Kárpáti, Ferenc (Pest 7)	x	x					67,9
Korom, Mihály (Bács-Kiskun 8)	x	x					53,9
Maróthy, László (Békés 13)		x	x				87,7
Méhes, Lajos (Budapest 44)	x	x					64,7
Nyers, Rezső (Bács-Kiskun 1)	x	x					63,7
Szépvölgyi, Zoltán (Budapest 57)	x	x					65,0
Szűrös, Mátyás (Hajdú-Bihar 15)		x		x			85,7
Takács, Ágnes Barcza (Csongrád 4)	x	x					59,5
Várkonyi, Péter (Budapest 14)		x					62,1
Landesliste (8)	12	15	10	2	1	1	
Direktmandate (9)	11	16	2	2			
von insgesamt (10)	23	31	12	4	1	1	
	110	105	13	6	1	1	

Source: NEPSZABADSAG, No. 74 of 29 Mar 85, pp 4-5; No. 134 of 10 Jun 85, pp 1-3; No. 146 of 24 Jun 85, p 3.

Key:

- |                                |                               |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. Deputy (1980)               | 6. General Secretary          |
| 2. Central Committee member    | 7. Election Results, 1985 (%) |
| 3. Politburo Member            | 8. National list              |
| 4. Central Committee Secretary | 9. Direct seats               |
| 5. Deputy General Secretary    | 10. Of total                  |

The election was disastrous for the Association of Hungarian Resistance Fighters and Antifascists. Neither of their two candidates, General Secretary Ispanovits (Bacs-Kiskun 18) or Vice-President Uszta (Heves 11) was elected. In view of the role played by the association in public at all festive events, the realistic assessment of its importance was expressed here by the voter.

The representatives of all national minorities consciously nominated for the first time received their parliamentary seats with equal representation by means of the national list. (In this connection it should be noted that the gypsies do not possess the status of a national minority). The representatives of the nationalities did not find any response in the case of the direct seats. Thus Janos Budai, the director of the faculty and of the "Nicolae Balescu" Nationalities School (ranging from the elementary stage up to the secondary school) did not succeed in mobilizing the voters who again put their trust in the former deputy and meanwhile retired teacher of the local Hungarian elementary school, Mrs. Laszlo Sebesi (Bekes 6). This vote of 74.1 percent of the ballots cannot be called anything but overwhelming.

The following group consists of the members of the government, administration and of the security organs. The deputies who had received a place on the national list from the circle of the government have already been mentioned: Parliamentary President Sarlos, Prime Minister Lazar, State President Losonczi, his two deputies, and the secretary and 10 (part-time) members of the Presidential Council. In addition, based on the voter preferences, Foreign Minister Varkonyi (Budapest 14), Deputy Prime Minister Marothy (Bekes 13), Deputy Parliamentary President Cservedka (Pest 4) and Deputy Director of the Office for Standards Suto (Vas 9) entered parliament. Thus of the 19 members of the Council of Ministers 16 are not members of the parliament.

In contrast (according to the constitution) all members of the Presidential Council are elected by the parliament from its own ranks. Of the members elected in 1980, four did not become candidates. Three former members of the Presidential Council failed to be reelected and lost their electoral districts: Mrs Zoltan Desi (Budapest 7), Ignac Pioker (Budapest 12) and Gyula Uszta (Heves 11), the general secretary of the partisan association. In the election for the Presidential Council on 28 June 1985, the 14 reelected deputies from the circle

of the former Presidential Council were reelected. The remaining 7 seats were obtained by 3 representatives from the national list and 4 direct seatholders. Four of the 7 new members of the Presidential Council sit in parliament for the first time. It is noteworthy that direct seatholders were elected members of the Presidential Council who had achieved outstandingly good election results.

The voters were quite discriminating precisely among the former officeholders who were candidates for election: Antal Apro (Csongrad 1), the former parliamentary president and companion of Kadar and former ministers Puja (Bekes 8) and Biro (Gyor-Sopron 6) were elected, while former ministers Benkei (Budapest 3) and Szurdi (Budapest 2) and even former prime minister Fock (Gyor-Sopron 5) were rejected.

In the ranks of ministers in office or former ministers, two names and electoral districts are conspicuous. During the election campaign, news reports from Foreign Minister Varkonyi's electoral district (Budapest 14) were published in various Western newspapers since a member of the unorganized opposition, Miklos Tamas-Gaspar, competed as an additional candidate. Tamas-Gaspar comes from Transylvania, is a philosopher and a committed fighter for the rights of the 2-million Hungarian minority living in Romania. Since Hungarian foreign policy follows a road of very small steps in this question which is attacked by opposition circles as ineffective, the exponents of the two groups clashed at the nominating meeting. However, after the second election meeting with a 3-hour debate of the opponents, Tamas-Gaspar collected only a total of 135 out of 1018 votes. Thus he failed to get the necessary third of the votes for the nomination.

In the neighboring electoral district Budapest 13, another opposition member competed for a candidacy, the architect Laszlo Rajk, who as a son of the Laszlo Rajk executed in 1949 and rehabilitated in 1956, represents a kind of "figure-head" of the opposition. At the two nominating meetings he received 468 of 1611 votes and with 29.05 percent only barely failed to get the nomination after having received more than one third of the votes at the first meeting.

The reasons for the failure of the two differ. For one thing, the difference in the vote for Tamas-Gaspar and Rajk (and the even worse result of other opposition members) is an indicator of their name recognition among the people.

The Western press undoubtedly overestimates the influence and the broad effect of the opposition, the reason why the expectation of that press was perhaps too great. On the other hand, self-censorship of the citizens ("the scissors in the head") to which they have been accustomed for 40 years limits from the start the election or nomination chances of opposition candidates--even without specific opposition from state or party. Realistically the candidates had to expect the lacking courage to express support for the opposition. Tamas-Gaspar's bad performance moreover may be attributable to Peter Varkonyi's popularity, which he has achieved at home and abroad during the short period in office since 8 July 1983. Even though in the 8 June election he was opposed by two additional candidates, he received 62.1 percent of the votes while his opposing candidates each remained below 25 percent.

The other noteworthy electoral district is in Battonya (Bekes 8). It is the traditional electoral district of former foreign minister Frigyes Puja. His standing in the MSZMP quickly declined after his resignation in 1983. As sole former foreign minister he did not get a Central Committee seat at the 13th Party Congress in March 1985. He also had not been nominated as a parliamentary candidate by the HNF while his predecessor in office, Janos Peter, had received a safe seat on the national list. At the election meetings Puja was, however, nominated by his fellow citizens and with 54.8 percent of the votes against the local agricultural producer cooperative chairman (16.3 percent) and the municipal council chairman (28.9 percent) achieved a clear victory even though it was not as convincing a victory as that of Varkonyi.

Of the administrative officials who in most cases took part in two elections simultaneously--on the one hand, for parliament, on the other hand for the regional council--only one representative could be noted on the national list, namely Pesta, the former deputy chairman of the city council, thus vice-mayor of Budapest. For direct seats 31 council chairmen were candidates for election, of whom 20 (=64.5 percent) were elected to parliament. Thus the result is by far less positive than in the case of the council elections. There of all 1511 council chairmen 1508 were candidates for election and 1471 of them (=97.4 percent) were confirmed. In the election to the parliament, the evaluation by the voters is remarkable: of the 12 municipal council chairmen only 6 (and of them 2 only in the runoff election) were elected, but 9 of 11 county council chairmen, 5 of 8 mayors up for election were confirmed. The most prominent loser in this connection is the vice-mayor of Budapest, Richard Nagy (Budapest 62), while his colleague Istvan Stadinger (Budapest 6) and Chief Mayor Zoltan Szepvolgyi (Budapest 57) won.

The police is represented in the parliament solely by Dr Antal Toth (Bacs-Kiskun 16), who is deputy director of the county police directorate in Kalocsa and was able to prevail against the city HNF secretary.

The Hungarian People's Army sends 3 officers and one civilian to the parliament. While the civilian employee Karoly Viola (Pest 14) successfully competed with an employee of the agricultural producer cooperatives, in the other three electoral districts soldiers faced one another. This competition among equals is interesting for two reasons. First of all it is remarkable that the voters in each case preferred the higher-rank officer: a major general over a colonel (Fejer 6) and a lieutenant colonel (Veszprem 12) and a Lieutenant general over a colonel (Pest 7).

The clergy are included in the professional group of the intellectuals. Their large share of seats on the national list (17 percent) indicates that the HNF regards them moreover as representatives of important mass organizations. According to Hungary's historical tradition, all religious persuasions are treated the same way. As mentioned above, the national list includes 2 Catholic priests, 1 Reformed and 1 Lutheran clergyman, 1 rabbi and 1 representative of the Free Churches. Clergymen were successful candidates for two additional direct seats. Here, too, 2 similar candidates faced one another: the Reformed bishop of Miskolc, Laszlo Kurti, defeated his deputy (Borsod 2), the president of the College for Religious Doctrine, Dr Istvan Pregun, was victorious over the director of the Greek-Catholic episcopate (Szabolcs-Szatmar 1). With Istvan Pregun the last

denomination not represented, the Greek Catholic rite, received representation in the parliament. The high rank of the church representatives is notable while in contrast clergymen are absent from the municipality sector. The reasons for that probably have to do with intra-church discussions on the strength of the involvement in state organizations. These problems became known especially from the Catholic Church which is torn between the desire for clerical opposition in atheist states, the aversion towards state associations of priests such as "Pacem in terris" in the CSSR and the discussion concerning the Central American liberation theology. As statements by Cardinal Lekai<sup>24</sup> confirm, these thoughts also governed the Hungarian theologians during the election campaign.

The trend of intellectualizing the parliament discussed above corresponds to the fact that an excessive share of teachers, who did not have a single representative on the national list, received direct seats (8 percent). The fact of their being widely known in the electoral district may have been a contributing factor hereby. Most of the 28 pedagogues are school directors (14) and university and college teachers (5).

The profession close to the people, which was mentioned in the case of the teachers, of course also applies to the medical profession even more. Of the latter's 32 representatives, 7 are veterinarians who are of especially great importance for Hungary, which continues to be strongly agriculturally oriented. The confidence of the voters in their physicians is shown by the election of the district physician of Pomaz (near Szentendre), Dr Janos Juhar, who defeated the former deputy and HNF vice-president with 58.7 to 15.7 percent of the votes (Pest 24).

With the 11 engineers among the deputies, the most varied branches of this wide-ranging professional field are represented, which ranges from heavy industry to the energy industry and to the foodstuffs industry. If the technical intelligentsia is not included among the managerial personnel and directors, then the technical intelligentsia would be underrepresented by the 11 engineers alone.

The three most important branches of jurisprudence have one representative each in the parliament. The following were elected: the president of the Budapest bar association, Jeno Horvath, (Budapest 1), the senior public prosecutor of Hajdu-Bihar County, Csaba Kreszti, (Hajdu-Bihar 4) and the legal officer of an industrial cooperative, Frigyes Tallassy (Budapest 24). While the first two represent traditional areas, F. Tallassy represents a field of activity which gains importance with the increasing diversification of the Hungarian economy to more smaller, competitive and independently operating enterprises.

The four deputies identified as staff members of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences are high-ranking scientists in their fields: Bruno F. Straub and Janos Szentagothai are biologists and Jozsef Bognar and Rezso Nyers are economists. Only Rezso Nyers, who can be regarded as the "father" of the New Economic Mechanism and remains a critical observer and adviser following his resignation as Central Committee secretary, faced the voters (Bacs-Kiskun 1), while the others had their names on the national list. However, another biologist of the Academy was unable to gain the confidence of the voters (Csongrad 6).

The scientific-intellectual professions include a female librarian of the "Ervin Szabo" City Library (Budapest 21) as well as 6 journalists. While the general director of the Hungarian news agency MTI, Barcs, had a place on the national list, the successor in his office, Burjan, did not gain the confidence of the voters. The publishers of the newspapers PETOFI NEPE, NEPSZAVA and MAGYAR FILMHIRADO (Bacs-Kiskun 5, Borsod 19, Budapest 47) were elected in contrast to the publisher of MAGYAR NEMZET (Budapest 36), his predecessor (Budapest 18) and the former publisher of ESTI HIRLAP (Budapest 38). The main staff member of the Hungarian radio, Karoly Eke, (Csongrad 10) and the editor and reporter of the Szeged MTV television studio, Zoltan Kiraly, (Csongrad 5) prevailed only in the runoff election but in doing so achieved above average good results of 65.2 and 81.3 percent. Zoltan Kiraly thus achieved the fifth best result nationally while the result of Karoly Eke deserves attention because he was not nominated until the runoff election. The "new media" thus fared clearly better than the print media with their old and new representatives. But overall the election result reveals little concerning the view of the electorate of the press and information policy of the government.

The last professional group among the deputies consists of the representatives of the fine arts. Two prominent artists, the sculptor I. Varga and the actor F. Kallai, who are involved in various organizations, were placed on the national list. The actor Banffy and the opera singer Leblanc were able to prevail against their nationally renowned competitors (Budapest 4: against the vice-president of the National Lawyers Council; Budapest 67: against the general secretary of the Chemical Workers Union). Their voters apparently saw more involvement in their case than in the case of the officeholders of many years. The past deputy, the actor Avar (Budapest 17) was able to hold on to his seat.

The five biggest groups of deputies consist of directors (56 seats), agricultural producer cooperative chairmen (40), workers (35), MSZMP functionaries (33) and physicians (32), who, taken together, constitute half of the parliament membership. The representatives of the mass organizations, the government, administration and security organs constitute only about one fifth of the deputies. Accordingly characteristic of the composition of the parliament on the one hand is the high level of education and on the other hand the preponderance of the economic leaders and managerial staff (150 seats) as well as the intelligentsia (97 seats), who combined hold nearly a two-thirds majority.

#### The Re-elected Deputies

In comparing the results of the 1985 election with those preceding it, the question arises what change has taken place among the officeholders and to what degree deputies have found the confidence of the electorate once again. As mentioned above, two-thirds of the 35 members of the national list and three-fourths of the Central Committee members among the deputies had already belonged to the parliament in the previous legislative period.

Of the 352 deputies of the old parliament, 183 (thus about one half) were candidates again. Of them 104 were immediately elected, 60 were rejected. In the electoral districts in which a runoff election was necessary, 4 former deputies withdrew from the runoff election. Of the other 15, 6 were confirmed

in the runoff election. Overall the voters rejected 40 percent of the deputies who had become candidates for reelection.

Nevertheless an incumbent's advantage in the reelection can be recognized. Thus the 183 candidates constituted 23.9 percent of all candidates. But in terms of all direct mandates, the share of the reelected 110 increased to 31.3 percent. It must not be forgotten that in this so advantageously acting increase of the share that in the case of this group there could not be any competition among equals and thus no "lost" candidacies.

The incumbent bonus is also expressed in another figure. The voters gave them 60.4 percent of their votes in the average of the electoral districts and thus one percent more than the other 241 direct seatholders. Thus the reelected deputies possessed the special confidence of the voters while the votes out of habit kept within bounds. The deputies who were not reelected were consciously rejected, such as the former deputy of Kapuvar and first secretary of the county party committee, Bela Hary, who received only 8.4 percent of the votes (Gyor-Sopron 12).

Overall the reelected deputies constituted only one third of the new parliament. Of the 386 deputies, 244 were elected to the parliament for the first time. They, in particular, will shape the work of the coming legislative period.

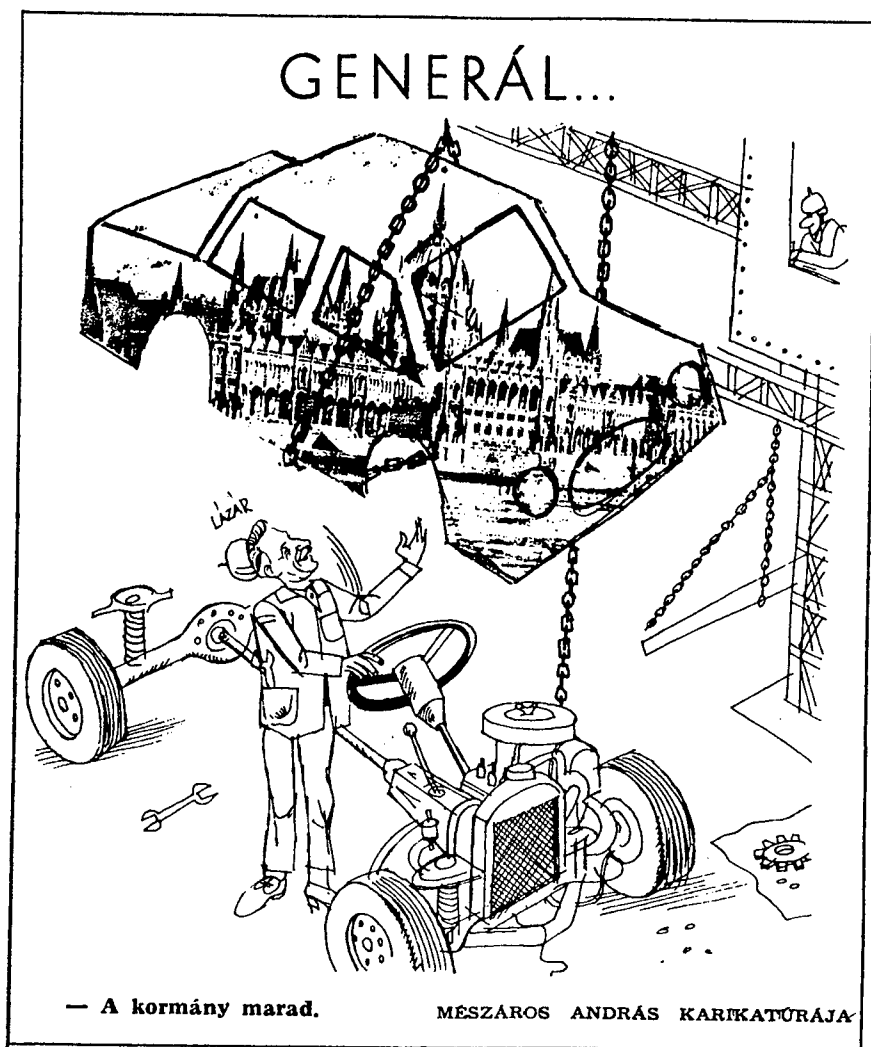
#### The Prospect

The Presidential Council on 24 June 1985 convened the elected parliament for the constituent session for 28 June 1985, in accordance with Article 28, paragraph 5 of the constitution.<sup>25</sup>

The reports on this session<sup>26</sup> record painfully precisely the long accustomed pattern of the parliamentary proceedings. There were no changes in the important positions of the president of the parliament and his deputies. The cabinet was confirmed without change. It was not until the election to the Presidential Council and of the individual committees that the results of the election had any effect on their composition. But nothing happened that would indicate any change.

With a scathing pen Andras Meszaros recorded the result: He pictured Prime Minister Lazar as a car mechanic at a car made of wheels, an engine, steering wheel and transmission. A new body is lowered over the frame which shows the view of the parliament building. The caption reads quite clearly: "The Government Remains." (A kormány marad). Here the parliament is shown as an embellishment without any influence on the movement of the vehicle. Thus nothing significant would have changed? The incomplete heading "General..." could be completed in different ways. In this sense, if the government were to assess the election exclusively as a "general confirmation," then all beginnings and efforts of the 1985 election and of its election campaign were in vain.

But the signs do not point in this direction. The mass organizations have no reason for self-satisfaction. Even before the constituent session of the parliament, the MSZMP Central Committee met on 26 June 1985 and the Presidium



Caption: GENERAL...

"The government remains"

NEPSZABADSAG, No. 151 of 29 June 1985, p 21; cartoon by Andras Meszaros

of the HNF on 27 June 1985. As usual nothing became known of the disputes within these bodies. While the HNF did not decide on anything but the convening of the Eighth HNF Congress for 13 December 1985, the Central Committee published a communique<sup>28</sup> whose second part dealt with the election. Aside from some customary sentences of the self-confirming party language, aftereffects of the surprise that the election must have provided for some can be noted: "The elections deepened socialist democracy and enriched it by some new features." The willingness to include the new developments and not to nip them in the bud is reflected in the advice: "The deputies and council members should make use in their work of all the generally interesting proposals which the citizens made in the election discussions." In the HNF, too, which faced the development with



much greater reservation, the intention was stated earlier that "in the future public opinion would have to be sounded out much more carefully."<sup>29</sup>

In the future this may possibly have the effect for the citizen of indirect, for the deputy of direct representation of interests and participation in political decisions without having to follow the road through the organizations (HNF or MSZMP). Thus the way is opened for less ideological tutelage of the citizen and for more democratization and freedom.

The main questions in the discussion between Western and Hungarian commentators were whether these elections involved "free" elections or whether, on the basis of the existing laws and present social trends, "free" elections can develop. Presentation of the problems and fundamental question raised in this connection would require a more detailed commentary. One aspect which is part of the narrow field of examining an election is the question concerning the importance of the candidates nominated by the voter meetings and sometimes referred to as "independent." Here it must not be forgotten under any circumstances that acceptance of the HNF program was obligatory for all. The nomination of Frigyes Puja alone, who belongs to the party conservatives and is no longer a Central Committee member, makes the designation questionable. On account of the commitment to the common HNF program, the question concerning the nonparty persons also makes it difficult to respond with a definite assessment. Occasionally the party members are more critical than the nonparty persons. The dubiousness of figures only is shown by the fact that under Rakosi there were 30 percent nonparty persons in the parliament who did not possess opposition character in the least. During the past 30 years the share of the nonparty persons increased from 18.3 percent in 1958 to 38.9 percent in 1975 and from that time declined again: 24.8 percent (1980), 23.0 percent (1985). Thus it is in the order of magnitude that prevailed at the time of the introduction of the economic reforms in the 60's.

The more pronounced formation of party groups within the HNF and in the MSZMP permits ideologically divergent wings or groupings to emerge more and more clearly. The fact that the voter has seen and assessed these differences is shown by his behavior. Perhaps this also explains the fact that fewer party functionaries but more party comrades are elected because more voters identify with part of the spectrum within the ideologically liberalized party. Thus the approval applies less to the party in general but more to the wing whose representative was elected. Hereby the active and economically liberal representatives were elected for whom the election of National Bank Vice-President Janos Fekete can be mentioned as the most prominent example.

The voter also expressed honestly how he views the balance of power and also saw real possibilities for action in his sense. Thus the voters considered themselves better represented by the director than by the party secretary of their factory (here LEHEL) and placed their confidence with 71.3 percent in the one who had represented them before in the parliament (Szolnok 15). In general the labor unions were rated low (even on the national list), the Association of Resistance Fighters and Antifascists was totally rejected and confidence was withdrawn from wide circles of the HNF. Former officeholders in the state--regardless of whether they had been ministers or council chairmen--or in the

party had hardly any chances with the voters. In such cases, the voters preferred the local representatives to the well known but powerless national figures. As an example, the defeat of Jeno Fock by the local agricultural producer cooperative chairman (Gyor-Sopron 5) can be mentioned. The emphasis of the regional element is an outgrowth of the 1966 electoral district reform and the repeatedly emphasized close relationship between deputy and electoral district. Even during the election campaign speeches, the emphasis of the regional relationship came to the fore and also determined the nominations.

In conclusion it can be stated that the Hungarian voter knew how to use the greater and freer scope granted to him. Thus the hope exists that the will of the voter may be converted into the deed in an active parliament. The future will show whether or not this can be done.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. A transitional National Assembly was constituted on 21 Dec 44 which was confirmed by the election of 4 Nov 45.
2. MAGYAR KOZLONY (hereinafter referred to as MK), No. 60 of 27 Dec 83, pp 1135-1152.
3. NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG, Fernausgabe (hereinafter referred to as NZZ), 24 Apr 85, p 2; NZZ, 25 Apr 85; DPA, 5 Jun 85; DPA, 10 Jun 85; AP, 11 Jun 85; NZZ, 11 Jun 85, pp 1-2; NZZ, 13 Jun 85; NZZ, 26 Jun 85, p 2. Summaries of various commentaries: NEPSZABADSAG (hereinafter referred to as NSZ), No. 135 of 11 Jun 85 "Recent Foreign Press Opinions on Hungary's Election"; Janos Nemes: "Commentaries From the West. Old Routine, New Sneering," in: BUDAPESTER RUNDSCHAU (hereinafter referred to as BR), 24 Jun 85, p 4; Steven Koppany: "Election Results and Assessment," in RFE-RL: Hungarian Situation Report, No. 8 of 21 Jun 85, pp 15-17.
4. "Alkoto nepkepviselet," in NSZ, No. 241 of 13 Oct. 84, p 3; German abridged: "Creative People's Representation," in BR, No. 42 of 22 Oct 84.--Cf. NSZ, No 163 of 13 Jul 85, p 1.
5. MK, No. 71 of 18 Nov 66, pp 643-654; until then the Presidential Council Decision (NET) 1-19/1958 [MK, No. 9 of 27 Sep 58, pp 670-678] applied to all parliamentary elections in connection with the regulations of Law VIII/1945, XXII/1947, IX/1949, II/1953.
6. MK, No. 83 of 14 Oct 70, pp 846-851.
7. NSZ, No. 121 of 25 May 85, p 21.
8. Laszlo Rozsa: "In Good Direction" in: NSZ, No. 127 of 1 Jun 85, p 23; German abridged: L.R. "Experiences of the Election Campaign," in: BR, 10 Jun 85, p 4.
9. "Interview With Istvan Sarlos on the Parliament, Candidacies and Deputies," in: NSZ, No. 109 of 11 May 85, p 5.

10. "Halftime of the Election Campaign," in: BR, 27 May 85, pp 1-2. All following information from: NSZ, No. 121 of 25 May 85, pp 3-5; NSZ, No. 134 of 10 Jun 85, pp 1-3; NSZ, No. 142 of 19 Jun 85, p 3; NSZ, No. 146 of 24 Jun 85, p 3; MK, No. 24 of 9 Jun 85, pp 569-599; MK, No. 26 of 23 Jun 85, pp 625-632.
11. Istvan Horvath: "Progress on the Road of Socialist Democracy," in: NSZ, No. 151 of 29 Jun 85, p 5; German abridged: Istvan Horvath: "Utilize Expanded Democratic Leeway for Politics," in: BR, 8 Jul 85, pp 2-3.
12. Rozsa (footnote 8): Central Committee Secretary Horvath spoke even more directly in opposition to the nominating monopoly of the HNF. Horvath (footnote 11).
13. Koppany (footnote 3), p 10.
14. Reuter, 10 Jun 85, cited in: Koppany (footnote 3), p 9<sup>3</sup>.
15. Antal Toth: "What People Have to Know About our Election System," Budapest 1985(195 pp, 25 forint).
16. NSZ, No. 125 of 30 May 85, p 5; NSZ, No. 127 of 31 May 85, p 21; NSZ, No. 131 of 6 Jun 85, p 5; NSZ, No. 132 of 7 Jun 85, p 1; for the runoff election a summary was repeated: NSZ, No. 144 of 21 Jun 85.
17. NSZ, No. 151 of 29 Jun 85, p 2.
18. In Csongrad 8 (4 candidates): Victor: Mrs. Istvan Bibok, 26.94 percent, ahead of Vince Abraham, 26.86 percent, and in Szolnok 5 (4 candidates): Dr Ferenc Kiraly, 36.74 percent, ahead of Peter Csurik, 36.70 percent. NSZ, No. 146 of 24 Jun 85, p 3.
19. Implementing Regulations to Law III/1983 (footnote 2): Presidential Council Resolution (NET) 1/1985 and Ministerial Council Resolution (MT) (III.8) in: MK, No. 11 of 8 Mar 85, pp 181-205.
20. 50.1 percent: Emil Pejak (Budapest 56), Mrs. Gyula Krisztan (Budapest 61), Miklos Devcsics (Nograd 1), Ilona Toth (Veszprem 13); 50.2 percent: Dr Mihaly Hanko (Bekes 2); 50.3 percent: Karoly Kovacs (Budapest 40), Mrs Rezso Weiszbock (Gyor-Sopron 15), Henrik Fenyvesi (Somogy 7, 3 candidates); 50.4 percent: Laszlo Krekacs (Pest 8), Antal Ferenc (Veszprem 7); 50.5 percent: Katalin Eke Feher (Borsod 10), Mrs Gabor Sagi (Fejer 10).-- 87.7 percent: Dr Laszlo Marothy (Bekes 13); 85.7 percent: Dr Matyas Szuros (Hajdu-Bihar 15); 82.4 percent: Miklos Varga (Veszprem 10); 81.5 percent: Dr Mihaly Bugan (Szolnok 12); 81.3 percent: Zoltan Kiraly (Csongrad 5); 80.5 percent: Laszlo Gyuricza (Veszprem 5).

21. Barcs: NSZ, No 151, of 29 Jun 85, p 2 and Horvath (footnote 11), p 5.
22. Baranya 7, Csongrad 5, Gyor-Sopron 10, Hajdu-Bihar 9, Hajdu-Bihar 13.
23. NZZ, 24 Apr 85, p 2; NZZ, 25 Apr 85,. See also Steven Koppany in RFE-RL: Hungarian Situation Report, No. 6 of 16 May 85, pp 13-15, RAD Background Report (Hungary), No. 51 of 5 Jun 85, pp 8-9, RFE-RL: Hungarian Situation Report, No. 9 of 7 Aug 85, pp 15-23.
24. DEUTSCHE TAGESPOST, KATHOLISCHE ZEITUNG FUER DEUTSCHLAND, 14/15 Jun 85.
25. NSZ, No. 146 of 24 Jun 85, p 1.
26. NSZ, No. 151 of 29 Jun 85, pp 1-4.--Also parliamentary resolutions 1-7/1985, in: MK, No. 28 of 11 Jun 85, pp 669-684.
27. NSZ, No. 151 of 29 Jun 85, p 21.
28. NSZ, No. 149 of 27 Jun 85, p 1.
29. Rozsa (footnote 8).

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## PZPR MEETINGS, ACTIVITIES REPORTED

## Suggestions, Complaints Commissions

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 12 Nov 85 p 2

[PAP report edited by (sl) under 'Yesterday in the Nation' rubric]

[Text] The implementation of the tasks ensuing from the resolution of the Ninth PZPR Central Committee Plenum by the province party organizations in Lublin, Szczecin, Tarnobrzeg and Wroclaw was a major topic of discussion at the Commission for Suggestions, Complaints and Signals from the Population under the PZPR Central Committee.

During the discussion, chaired by the commission's chairman Albin Siwak, member of the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee, mention was made of the effectiveness of the party's actions in resolving problems with which citizens turn to PZPR echelons. As commission members pointed out, the implementation of the aforementioned resolution, particularly in the context of the recent elections to the Sejm, was and is contributing to strengthening the society's trust in the party. The Central Committee received several hundred letters concerning the elections. The suggestions they contain were reflected in the pre-election campaign. Such letters have also been received by the province echelons.

A report on the letters received by the Central Committee this year was presented by Director of the Office for Letters and Inspections under the PZPR Central Committee Marian Kot. During the first 3 quarters of this year more than 43,000 letters were received and nearly 5,000 citizens presented themselves in person. Compared with a like period last year, these figures are higher.

## Law, Order Commission

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 12 Nov 85 p 2

[PAP report edited by (sl) under 'Yesterday in the Nation' rubric]

[Text] The Commission for Law and Order under the PZPR Central Committee evaluated at a session in Warsaw the sociopolitical situation within the

lawyer community. The deliberations were chaired by the commission's vice chairman Deputy Minister for Internal Affairs Lucjan Czubinski.

In the recent past, it was emphasized, negative and disturbing phenomena used to occur within the lawyer community. Certain representatives of the bar displayed attitudes hostile toward the socialist state. The lawyer community has begun to display tendencies toward self-isolation and restriction of access to the profession. A symptom of this unhealthy situation was the commencement of 74 disciplinary proceedings against lawyers during the first half of 1985. They concerned chiefly (54 cases) incomplete fulfillment of professional obligations.

The new decree regulating the bar that was passed in 1982 constituted -- it was stressed in the discussion -- an expression of political, professional and moral trust in the lawyer community. At present, it was stated, the situation is slowly but tangibly improving.

#### Bloc Journalists Discuss Plenum Topics

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 13 Nov 85 p 2

["Topics of 22nd PZPR Central Committee Plenum Subject of Press Conference in Warsaw" -- PAP report]

[Text] The course and topics of the 22nd PZPR Central Committee Plenum were the subject of a press conference for domestic and foreign journalists held in Warsaw on 12 [Nov 85].

Concerning the topics of the party plenum, which ended on 11 [Nov 85], Jerzy Majka offered the reminder that this plenum represented a continuation of the principal topic of the 19th PZPR Central Committee Plenum, namely, the role and tasks of the intelligentsia in this country's socialist development. The 19th Plenum had at the time authorized the Commission for Resolutions and Recommendations to draft, during the period preceding the current plenum, an elaborate -- and also based on the opinions of artistic, scientific and academic-educational communities -- program for implementing the Central Committee resolution on the role and tasks of the intelligentsia in work for this country. This innovative solution enriches the collegial work of the Central Committee and contributes to strengthening its programming role.

The speaker devoted considerable attention to the resolution of the 22nd Plenum, pointing out that it emphasizes the importance of the alliance between the working class and peasantry and the intelligentsia as well as the need for a more effective utilization of the creative endeavors of all intelligentsia milieux in the nationwide cause of strengthening the socialist fatherland.

J. Majka also answered questions from journalists.

## Warsaw PZPR Committee Plenum

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Nov 85 pp 1,5

["Warsaw PZPR Committee Plenum"; subtitled "With the Participation of Wojciech Jaruzelski" and "Janusz Kubasiewicz Becomes First Province Committee Secretary" -- PAP report; passages within slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] /Organizational matters were on 14 [Nov 85] the subject of a plenary session of the Warsaw PZPR Committee, attended by First Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee Wojciech Jaruzelski./

In connection with his becoming a secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, Marian Wozniak requested the plenum to relieve him from membership in the Warsaw PZPR Committee as well as from the duties he until then exercised as first secretary of the latter committee.

/On behalf of the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee, first secretary of the party Central Committee recommended Janusz Kubasiewicz, heretofore director of the Socio-Legal Department under the PZPR Central Committee, for the post of first secretary of the Warsaw PZPR Committee./

/J. Kubasiewicz was elected to that post by secret balloting during the plenum of the Warsaw PZPR Committee./

/Toward the end of the deliberations W. Jaruzelski again took the floor and discussed the next tasks of party activity during the period preceding the 10th PZPR Congress, and especially the directions of action of the Warsaw party organization./

The session was attended by: Member of the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee Albin Siwak, Candidate Member of the Politburo and Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak, and Director of the Cadre Policy Department under the PZPR Central Committee Wladyslaw Honkisz.

Following the plenary session of the Warsaw PZPR Committee Marian Wozniak commented as follows in a talk with journalists:

"I find it difficult to part with the Warsaw party organization, but as a Sejm deputy and member of the Warsaw Club of Sejm Deputies, I'll after all retain my ties to the capital city and work for it. This is an opportunity to assess what we have accomplished jointly with the Warsaw party aktiv. Much has been done to promote the consolidation of party ranks in the ideological sphere as well. Even so, many important tasks face the Warsaw party organization."

/Janusz Kubasiewicz stressed that he viewed his role as: "Primarily that of effectively coordinating the activities of elements of our organization. The tasks are many and hence their proper prioritization is important. My operating principle is that of being among the people as often as possible. These encounters provide me with inspiration for my work."/

## Army Committees Meet

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Nov 85 p 2

["Conference of First Secretaries of Party Committees in the Army" -- PAP]

[Text] On 14 [Nov 85] in Warsaw was held a conference of first secretaries of the party committees of military districts, the armed services and military academies. The participants presented recommendations for further improving the quality and effectiveness of the party's work in the armed forces. Directions and tasks of party work in the army ensuing from preparations for the 10th PZPR Congress were discussed. The conference was attended by General of Arms Jozef Baryla, chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Polish Army and deputy minister of national defense.

## Bloc Party Conference on Public Opinion

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16-17 Nov 85 p 6

["Public Opinion Under Socialism: International Party Conference" -- PAP report; passages within slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] /In Mierki near Olsztyn was held a scientific conference on public opinion under socialism, organized by the Academy of Social Sciences and the Information Department of the PZPR Central Committee. It was attended by scientists from the USSR, Bulgaria, the GDR, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Cuba and Poland as well as by practitioners-activists from the public opinion research centers of party echelons./

/The 3-day conference represented a confrontation of views of eminent representatives of science engaging in surveys of public opinion in a functioning socialist society./ This symposium was intended to derive general theories from the experience of recent years in this socially important domain, exchange views with fraternal communist parties on ways and means of conducting ideological-political work and counteract hostile propaganda as well as continually improve the techniques of public opinion research.

/Public opinion research is intended to determine integrally the state of political awareness of the society, and it provides source material for determining the trends and tendencies composing the picture of the political awareness of nations. This avenue of approach makes it possible to raise to a qualitatively higher level the bonds between the party's political practice and the theory of Marxism-Leninism./

It was emphasized that the unrelenting concern for maintaining a high level of activism of the masses is a precondition for socialist people's rule, and it also offers the possibility of perfecting the institutions of socialist democracy. From the principles of communist ideology ensues the duty of obtaining the opinion of the masses and gaining their support for particular political decisions. Hence, public opinion surveys serve to diagnose and prognosticate the political situation much more precisely. All this is a significant step forward on the road toward releasing the potential latent in



the working people of the socialist society. The significance of this problem is emphasized by the draft "Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union," in which we read: /"A successful accomplishment of the tasks outlined is linked by the party to enhancing the role of the human element. A socialist society cannot function effectively unless it explores new roads for the development of the creative activity of the masses in all domains of social life. The greater the scale of the historic goals, the more important is a proprietary-minded, committed, responsible, conscious and active participation of the millions in achieving them./ The tasks presented are particularly important from not only the practical-political and theoretical-research aspects but also from the social-ethical aspect. They reflect the need to intensify the intellectual and organizational efforts of the parties and their research centers. This precisely should point to the need for the integration and cooperation of the fraternal communist and worker parties.

The need to develop cooperation and intensify the efforts of the parties in this respect was pointed out in the papers presented by: Professor A. K. Yuledov, chairperson of the Department of Social Psychology at the Academy of Social Sciences under the CPSU Central Committee; J. Kopel, deputy director of the Information Department under the PZPR Central Committee; Docent S. Kusmierski, director of the Institute of Social Psychology and the Theory of Propaganda, Academy of Social Sciences under the PZPR Central Committee; and Docent S. Kwiatkowski, director of the Public Opinion Research Center.

This international symposium commenced with a meeting between Candidate Member of the Politburo and Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee Jan Glowczyk and the foreign guests. The conference itself was inaugurated by Jerzy Majka, editor-in-chief of TRYBUNA LUDU.

The symposium participants worked in four problem sections: The Party's Role in Shaping Public Opinion; Tasks of the Ideological Front in Counteracting Internal and External Diversionary Propaganda; The Mass Media and their Opinion-Shaping Role; and Methodological Experience of Socialist Public Opinion Research Centers.

#### University Meetings on Student Activism

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18 Nov 85 p 2

["Conference of Secretaries of Higher-School PZPR Committees" -- PAP report]

[Excerpt] On 15-16 [Nov 85] was held in Warsaw a conference of the secretaries of PZPR higher-school committees dealing with problems of work with students. The conference was organized by the Department of Science and Education under the PZPR Central Committee and the Youth Department under the PZPR Central Committee.

The tasks of higher-school party organizations in the student community were discussed, the educational activity so far in higher schools was critically appraised, and attention was drawn to the need for greater activism in this field by all academic instructors and higher-education administrators. The

nature, forms and methods of party work with students were discussed and the related experience in discrete higher academic institutions was exchanged.

The conference was chaired by Professor Bronislaw Ratus, director of the Department of Science and Education under the PZPR Central Committee. It was attended by the Director of the Youth Department under the Central Committee Leszek Miller.

#### Provincial Secretaries on Cultural Policies

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19 Nov p 2

["Party Policy on Culture: Conference of PZPR Province Committee Secretaries"  
-- PAP report]

[Text] /On 18 [Nov 85] was held at the PZPR Central Committee a conference of the province party committee secretaries responsible for cultural matters. The meeting was devoted to discussing problems relating to the policies and activities of the party in the cultural field, the sociopolitical situation of the artistic community and the intentions of the Culture Department under the Central Committee for the immediate future and in the course of work prior to the 10th PZPR Congress/ [emphasized].

The discussion was inaugurated by an address delivered by the Director of the Culture Department under the Central Committee Witold Nawrocki concerning the current tasks in implementing the party's cultural policy. He stressed the tangible improvement in the sociopolitical situation of culture and the growth of the party's activism within the artistic community, and he presented the text of the resolution adopted at the last PZPR Central Committee plenum concerning the implementation of the recommendations of the 19th plenary session of the PZPR Central Committee. The chair, Central Committee Secretary Waldemar Swirgon, focused his attention on evaluating the current sociopolitical situation in the cultural community following the success-crowned elections to the Sejm. He also presented the principal tasks facing the party echelons as regards culture.

#### Wroclaw Committee Plenum

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21 Nov 85 pp 1,2

[[Article by Czeslaw Kubasik: "The Recommendations Cannot Be Disregarded: Wroclaw Province PZPR Committee Plenum"; passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Excerpts] /(Own information) At the plenary session of the Wroclaw Province PZPR Committee held on 20 [Nov 85] the campaign for elections to PRL Sejm was evaluated. On this basis, further directions of activity of the province party echelon in strengthening socialist democracy and the leading role of the party as well as in stabilizing sociopolitical and economic life were outlined./

Both the report of the executive board and the discussion evaluated highly the participation of the party aktiv in the electoral campaign. Party ranks were

further consolidated and the authority and membership of the PZPR have grown, with the new members being chiefly young representatives of the working class.

/Referring to the preparations for the 10th Party Congress and the prior reports-election party campaign, Deputy Director of the Central Wroclaw TV Studio Stanislaw Wolny declared that the good experience gained during the last campaign should be exploited to avoid routinism and schematism in the mass media./

The members of the plenum also were briefed on the activities of the following commissions under the PZPR Province Committee: Agriculture and Food Management as well as Sociopolitical Policy and the Reform.

The plenary session was chaired by First Secretary of the PZPR Province Committee Zdzislaw Balicki.

#### Warsaw Executive Committee Meeting

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 22 Nov 85 p 5

[Unattributed report: "From the Work of the Executive Board of the PZPR Province Committee"]

[Text] On 21 [Nov 85] was held a circuit session of the Executive Board of the Warsaw PZPR Committee. Fifteen teams met with the party aktivs of borough committees and Regional Centers of Party Work. Work intended to further strengthen the party and its basic elements and echelons was jointly evaluated.

The visits by party echelons was intended to improve the drafting of the documents that will be considered at the plenary session of the Warsaw PZPR Committee on 6 December of this year.

The work of the Executive Board was directed by First Province Committee Secretary Janusz Kubasiewicz.

#### Military Leadership on Ideology

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 23-24 Nov 85 p 2

[PAP report under the rubric 'Yesterday in the Nation']

[Text] In Warsaw was held a conference on ideology and theory attended by the higher command of the armed forces of the PRL. Main directions of the nation's economic development and basic aspects of the international situation and the ensuing ideological-upbringing and political tasks were presented by the candidate members of the Politburo: Central Committee Secretary Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak and Minister of Foreign Affairs Marian Orzechowski, and also by PZPR Central Committee Secretary Waldemar Swirgon.

The conference participants also were briefed on the country's internal situation, the state's security problems and the government's intentions regarding cultural policy.

The conference was attended by General of the Army Florian Sliwicki, candidate member of the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee and minister of national defense.

#### Jaruzelski Meets Party Union Directors

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25 Nov 85 p 1

[Unattributed report: "First Central Committee Secretary Met With the Heads of the Trade Union of PZPR Employees"; passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] /First PZPR Central Committee Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski met on 23 [Nov 85] with Chairman of the Trade Union of Party Employees Wojciech Wisniewski and other heads of the union. The meeting was also attended by representatives of plant trade union boards from the major province committees./

/The representatives of the union representing party employees described the activities of their organization./ They stressed that the work and initiatives of their organization promote the activism and commitment of its membership to service to the party and the society. Also discussed were questions of advancing professional and occupational skills, shaping exemplary moral-political attitudes and interpersonal relations and strengthening the bonds with the party masses, as well the working and living conditions of party employees.

/First PZPR Central Committee Secretary shed light on the tasks of the party and its political apparatus on the eve of the 10th PZPR Congress. He emphasized at the same time the well-disposed attitude of the party leadership to the trade-union elements and wished them fruitful work./

The meeting was also attended by the Central Committee secretaries Marian Wozniak and Wlodzimierz Mokrzyaszczak.

#### Socio-Political Book Committee

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 26 Nov 85 p 2

[Unattributed report under "Party Activities" rubric: "Session of the Council for Socio-Political Books"]

[Text] /(C) On 25 [Nov 85] was held in Warsaw a regular meeting of the Council for Socio-Political Books under the PZPR Central Committee/ [emphasized]. This time the meeting was intended to review the editorial experience and accomplishments during the years 1982-1985 and the publishing plans of state and cooperative publishing houses for the period until 1990 as regards

implementing the program for historical education, with special consideration of publications dealing with recent history.

The session was attended by, among others: the council's chairman PZPR Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski and the Director of the Ideology Department under the PZPR Central Committee Wladyslaw Loranc.

#### Cultural Commission

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 26 Nov 85 p 2

[Unattributed report under 'Party Activities' rubric: "Deliberations of Cultural Commission"]

[Text] /(C) On 25 [Nov 85] the Culture Commission under the PZPR Central Committee discussed the status and problems of mass and stage entertainment/ [emphasized]. Polish entertainment was evaluated and the main directions of planned legal-organizational reforms in this respect were discussed.

The deliberations were chaired by PZPR Central Committee Secretary Waldemar Swirgon.

#### Provincial Committees Meet

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 26 Nov 85 p 2

[Unattributed report under 'Party Activities' rubric: PZPR Province Committee Plenums"; passages within slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] In Szczecin:

/(C) The tasks of party members and organizations in implementing the resolution of the 20th PZPR Central Committee Plenum and the systematic development of the party were the topics of the province committee plenum held in Szczecin on 25 [Nov 85]./

Candidate Member of the Politburo and Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak took part in the deliberations.

In Suwalki:

/(C) The status and development directions of the agricultural and food industry in Suwalki Province were on 25 [Nov 85] the subjects of a plenary session of the Suwalki Province PZPR Committee./

In Olsztyn:

/(C) The directions of strengthening the province party organization were the subject of a plenary session of the Olsztyn Province PZPR Committee held on 25 [Nov 85]./

## 'Working Class Culture' Conference

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 26 Nov 85 p 2

[Unattributed report under 'Conferences' rubric: "Working Class Culture"]

[Text] /(C) As part of a series of conferences on the topic of working class culture in Poland, organized on the initiative and under the auspices of the Culture Department of the PZPR Central Committee, an all-Polish symposium on problems of the cultural activism of workers at the workplace and in the community was held on 25 [Nov 85] at the H. CEGIELSKI Metal Industry Works in Poznan/ [emphasized].

The opening of the conference was attended by: Member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo Wladyslaw Kalkus and Director of the Culture Department under the PZPR Central Committee Professor Witold Nawrocki.

## CC Plenum on Fair Academic Admissions

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 26 Nov 85 p 3

[Article by Wieslaw Jasinski: "For an Equitable Access to Studies: Following the 16th PZPR Central Committee Plenum"; passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] /One important topic of discussions prior to the plenary session of the PZPR Central Committee on national education is the question of assuring a genuine rather than formal-legal access to higher studies for worker and peasant youth./

Despite the guaranteed equal chances for applicants demonstrating appropriate predispositions regardless of class origin, /the share of worker and peasant youth in student enrollment does not meet the aspirations of these classes as well as of the political and state authorities./ Hence -- quite unanimously -- various attempts have been made to develop concepts of assistance for applicants who, through no fault of their own, show themselves to be relatively less prepared for entrance examinations.

Beginning with the current academic year, the principles of admission to higher studies are changed. Administratively applied credit-point social preferences are being systematically abandoned and replaced with more effective methods for equalizing the level of preparation for studies by applicants from worker and peasant families as well as from culturally and materially deprived milieux.

Variant proposals on this matter were presented following the 16th PZPR Central Committee Plenum for broad public consultation in 1984. At 700 work establishments these proposals were discussed. Some 15,000 written responses were received. Thus this was an extremely broad and representative consultation.

/A majority of the respondents demanded the abandonment of credit-point preferences and their replacement with forms of genuine assistance for applicants for higher studies. By this they meant a system of preparatory courses, the introduction of a "zero-credit" semester of an equalizing nature, the participation of university instructors in guided self-study organized by secondary schools and the creation of a longrange program for raising the level of instruction in elementary and secondary schools./

/This public consultation essentially afforded a chance for discussion of the status of national education. The respondents drew attention to the unjustified differentiation of the level of instruction and upbringing at schools of various types and in various regions, the low level of performance of a majority of rural schools, the inadequate quality of performance of many teachers, the huge shortages of school personnel and equipment and the weak and deteriorating school plant. Many party echelons drew attention to the need for work establishments to provide greater assistance to schools./

The course of this public consultation demonstrated that the traditional system of credit-point preferences based on class origin has not gained social approbation. At the same time the inequalities and excessive differentiation among particular schools and regions in training youth for higher studies are acutely felt. Thus in general the respondents, while stressing the role of the entrance examinations, favored the need to equalize the starting conditions rather than provide special privileges for some applicants.

Noteworthy is the position of the Main Council for Science and Education on this issue:

/"The Main Council recognizes fully the principle of a socially equitable conduct of recruitment construed as a positive selection of the cadre of the national intelligentsia. The Main Council believes that all inequalities existing at the moment of commencement of higher studies but not due to the fault of the applicant himself -- such as, e.g., a weaker level of preparation by the secondary school or a lower intellectual level of the applicant's family -- should be compensated through methods for complementing secondary education."/

The results of the aforementioned public consultation as well as the opinions of socialist youth unions, the Union of Polish Teachers and many party echelons at all levels all point to the need to draft a longrange program assuring a stable influx of youth from worker and peasant families to higher schools, as well as to the need for a detailed analysis of the sources and consequences of the social composition of students.

On considering the results of the public consultation, the educational authorities and the ministries supervising higher schools were placed under the obligation of drafting a longrange program of action intended to increase the enrollment of students of worker and peasant origin. This program is to be published in the press during the last quarter of this year.

/Attempts have been undertaken to elevate the level of instruction in elementary and secondary schools, particularly those in small towns and rural

communities. A set of measures to improve the system of extracurricular activities for senior-class students in these schools has been worked out. Attempts -- not yet fully successful -- have been commenced to identify the most gifted youth in secondary schools and provide proper educational and instructional care for it. Access to higher studies has been facilitated by organizing state-financed preparatory courses for students preferred owing to social considerations who are competent, derive from poor families and are active in youth organizations. A concept of a special type of courses is being developed for exceptionally gifted workers and peasants with a basic vocational schooling background who would thus be enabled -- through the acquisition of externist certificates of completion of secondary education-- to prepare themselves for starting higher studies./

All these measures have resulted in enhancing the interest of worker and peasant youth in higher studies. Of the more than 110,000 applicants who took entrance examinations this year, worker and peasant youth accounted for 38.5 percent compared with 33.8 percent last year. What is more important, however, worker and peasant youth accounted for 42.1 percent of the applicants who passed the entrance examinations. This demonstrates that this year it was better prepared for taking the entrance examinations for higher studies.

/An important role was played by the preparatory courses organized by higher educational institutions since June 1983. This year the school boards assigned to these courses altogether 18,500 candidates and on the average 70 to 80 percent actually attended. Of these, youth of worker and peasant origin accounted for about 85 percent. A considerable part of that youth was enabled by these preparatory courses to pass the entrance examinations and begin higher studies. Many party echelons are emphasizing a careful preparation of lessons, good organizational conditions and the interest and discipline of youth./

/But many desiderata for improving the organization of these courses also are being voiced. The need for a definite improvement in the procedure for the qualification of applicants by the school boards is being pointed out, primarily as regards commencing the qualification of candidates several months in advance. It is also necessary to provide secondary schools with regular information on areas and principles of study. Such information reaches the applicants too tardily./

The system of preparatory courses has passed the test and should be refined so that it may perform its purpose better and better. These courses should also assist the applicants to adapt themselves to working and living conditions in institutions of higher education and prepare them for active participation in the socio-political life of the student body.

The preparatory courses represent a major contribution of the academic community to refining the system of recruitment for higher studies, so that the examination sieve-screen would not overlook "diamonds."

The implementation of the first stage of modifying the system of recruitment for higher studies, based on a gradual abandonment of credit-point preferences, has not resulted in a decrease in the number of applicants but on



the contrary it increased interest in higher education. For the first time, credit-point preferences were abandoned with respect to a majority of the engineering, economic and exact-science areas of study. This year the number of these areas will be increased. In the areas of study for which there is a substantial surplus of applicants the competitive principle will be maintained, meaning that those achieving the best scores on the entrance examination will be admitted.

/Thus, the adoption of the recommendations of the 16th PZPR Central Committee Plenum on this issue has already led to a number of positive changes in the system of admissions to higher studies as well as in the performance of the educational system, but this still does not mean that all the problems of an equitable access to higher educational institutions have been solved.

#### Cadre Policy Commission Hosts Conference

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 27 Nov 85 p 2

[Unattributed report under 'Chronicle' rubric: "Improving the Performance of the Managerial Cadre"]

[Text] /On 26 [Nov 85] in Jachranka near Warsaw was inaugurated a 2-day methodological conference on plant systems of work with the managerial cadre, sponsored by the Cadre Policy Department under the PZPR Central Committee, the Ministry of Metallurgy and Machine Industry and the Ministry of Chemical and Light Industry/ [emphasized].

The purpose of this conference is to assess the accomplishments so far of enterprises and exchange of experience in systemic work with the managerial cadre which could be, after suitable adaptation, utilized in the operating practice of specific enterprises. Those taking part in the deliberations, chaired by Director of the Cadre Policy Department under the PZPR Committee Wladyslaw Honkisz, included: Minister of Chemical and Light Industry Edward Grzywa, First Deputy Minister of Metallurgy and Machine Industry Stanislaw Stanczykiewicz, and Deputy Chief Inspector of Equipment, Polish Army, Division General Wladyslaw Szymkowski.

#### Health, Environment Commission Meets

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 28 Nov 85 p 2

[Unattributed and untitled report under 'Yesterday in the Nation' rubric]

[Text] In Katowice began a 2-day circuit session of the Commission for Protecting Public Health and Natural Environment under the PZPR Central Committee. The meeting dealt with the topic of evaluating the state of natural environment in Katowice Province in the context of the situation in the country as a whole and the measures being taken to improve it. On the first day the commission members toured 10 of the region's industrial plants.

Party Activities Calendar 28 Oct-10 Nov 85

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish 4 Dec 85 p 21

[Unattributed report: "Party Chronicle, 28 Oct--10 Nov 85"]

[Text] 22nd PZPR Central Committee Plenum:

5 November

The first part of the 22nd plenary session of the PZPR Central Committee was held. The agenda included:

-- Politburo report on the participation of the PZPR in the campaign for elections to the Ninth Session of the PRL Sejm, presented by Politburo members and Central Committee Secretary Tadeusz Porebski;

-- plenary discussion;

-- adoption of a resolution.

The deliberations were chaired by First Central Committee Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski, who also delivered the concluding address.

The second part of the 22nd Central Committee Plenum will be held on 11 Nov of this year.

Session of the Central Commission for PZPR-ZSL-SD Cooperation:

4 November

-- A session of the Central Commission for PZPR-ZSL-SD Cooperation was held [ZSL -- United Peasant Party; SD -- Democratic Party]. The PZPR side was represented by: Wojciech Jaruzelski, Kazimierz Barcikowski, Jozef Czyrek, Zbigniew Messner, Tadeusz Porebski and Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak.

-- At the session agreements were reached on matters relating to the commencement of the activities of the Ninth Session of the Sejm.

Joint Deliberations of the Central Commission for PZPR-ZSL-SD Cooperation and the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] National Council [KW RK PRON]:

4 November

-- The seat of the PRON National Council was the site of a joint session of the Central Commission for PZPR-ZSL-SD Cooperation and the Presidium of the KW RK PRON. On behalf of the PZPR the following participated in the deliberations: Wojciech Jaruzelski, Kazimierz Barcikowski, Tadeusz Porebski and Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak.

## Sessions of the Politburo of the Central Committee:

29 October

### The Politburo:

-- discussed the nation's socioeconomic situation and assessed the state of preparations of the fuel-energy economy for the 1985/1986 fall-winter peak demand;

-- considered the report on the course and results of the conference of the Consultative Political Committee of Member Countries of the Warsaw Treaty, held on 22-23 October of this year in Sofia;

-- accepted materials for the 22nd Central Committee Plenum and fixed the date of its convocation at 5 November.

### Conferences and Meetings:

28 October:

-- First Central Committee Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski received Roland Leroy, a member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party and editor-in-chief of L'HUMANITE, sojourning in Poland at the invitation of TRYBUNA LUDU. Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Czyrek took part in the conversation.

-- The seat of the Central Committee was the site of a conference of directors of the departments of intraparty management at PZPR province committees, on the topic of the implementation of financial and management tasks within the party. The conference was chaired by Candidate Member of the Politburo and Central Committee Secretary Wlodzimierz Mokrzyaszczak, and it was attended by Chairman of the Central Audit Commission [CKR] Kazimierz Morawski.

30 October:

-- First Central Committee Secretary and Chairman of the Council of Ministers Wojciech Jaruzelski met with the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Socialist Republic of Romania Constantin Dascalescu, who arrived in Warsaw on a working visit.

-- The participants in the conversation were: Deputy Prime Minister Zbigniew Messner and SRR Deputy Prime Minister Gheorghe Petrescu. Present was the Romanian Ambassador Ion Tesu.

-- The Presidium of the CKKP [Central Party Control Commission] was in session. The participation so far of control commissions in implementing the "Main Assumptions of PZPR Cadre Policy" was assessed. The presidium also familiarized itself with the performance of the CKKP judicial teams during the first 3 quarters of this year. The deliberations were chaired by CKKP Chairperson Jerzy Urbanski.

31 October:

-- First Central Committee Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski received the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Worker Party Janos Berecz during his sojourn in Poland. Candidate Member of the Politburo and Secretary of the Central Committee Jan Glowczyk took part in the conversation. The Ambassador of the Hungarian People's Republic Gyorgy Biczó was present.

4 November:

--The Commission for Representative Bodies and Self-Government under the PZPR Central Committee familiarized itself with the report of the Central Committee's Bureau for Sejm Affairs on the preparations for the first meeting of the Ninth Session of the Sejm and on certain aspects of the activities of the Club of PZPR Deputies. The commission also familiarized itself with a report on the course and results of elections to the Sejm. Its deliberations were chaired by Wladyslaw Jonkisz.

-- On the occasion of the 80th birthday of merited worker movement activist Henryk Szafranski the honored jubilee celebrant was visited by Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Kazimierz Barcikowski, who handed him a congratulatory letter along with cordial greetings from First Central Committee Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski.

-- The meeting with the jubilee celebrant was attended by Wladyslaw Honkisz, chairman of the Central Committee team for merited worker movement activists.

-- Chairpersons of the delegations of journalist organizations from the socialist countries sojourning in Poland at a consultative conference were received by Candidate Member of the Politburo and Central Committee Secretary Jan Glowczyk. The meeting was attended by Director of the Press, Radio and Television Department under the Central Committee Bogdan Jachacz.

6 November

-- Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski met with a delegation from the Central Board of the Soviet-Polish Friendship Society headed by Secretary of the Georgian CP Central Committee Guram Yenukidze. The delegation arrived at the invitation of the Main Board of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society in connection with the celebrations of the 68th anniversary of the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

7 November

-- The apex of the celebrations of the 68th anniversary of the October Revolution was the festive concert at the Palace of Culture and Art in Warsaw. Present were the members of the Politburo and Secretariat of the Central Committee: Kazimierz Barcikowski, Jozef Czyrek, Stefan Olszowski, Tadeusz Porebski, Alwin Siwak, Marian Wozniak, Jan Glowczyk, Czeslaw Kiszczak, Wlodzimierz Mokrzyshczak, Florian Siwicki, Henryk Bednarski, Zbigniew Michalek, and Waldemar Swirgon. Also present were CKR Chairman Kazimierz

Morawski and CKKP Chairman Jerzy Urbanski. The festivity was attended by USSR Ambassador Aleksandr Aksyonov. Addresses were delivered by Candidate Member of the Politburo and Secretary of the Central Committee Jan Glowczyk and USSR Ambassador Aleksandr Aksyonov.

8 November

-- At the Nowy Swiat International Press and Book Club the exhibition "The Soviet Union Prior to the 17th CPSU Congress" was opened. Central Committee Secretary Waldemar Swirgon attended the opening. USSR Ambassador Aleksandr Aksyonov was present.

9-10 November

-- The 14th National Congress of the Polish Economic Society was held in Katowice. Its deliberations were attended by Prime Minister Zbigniew Messner and Candidate Member of the Politburo and Secretary of the Central Committee Jan Glowczyk.

At Party Echelons and Organizations:

28 October

-- In Krakow was held the funeral of the eminent writer and public activist Tadeusz Holuj. The funeral ceremonies were attended by, among others, Politburo Member Hieronim Kubiak, Central Committee Secretary Waldemar Swirgon, Deputy Prime Minister Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski and First Secretary of the Krakow PZPR Committee Jozef Gajewicz.

30 October

-- The Opole Province PZPR Committee discussed the role of socialist culture in the social development of the Opole region. The deliberations were attended by Director of the Culture Department under the Central Committee Witold Nawrocki.

-- The Tarnobrzeg Province PZPR Committee outlined tasks for party echelons and organizations as regards refining cadre policy.

6 November

-- The Nowy Sacz Province PZPR Committee discussed the functioning of agricultural service organizations and carried out a political assessment of the elections to the Sejm in the province. The deliberations were attended by Central Committee Secretary Zbigniew Michalek.

7 November

-- The Gdansk Province PZPR Committee evaluated the course of elections to the Sejm in the province and outlined directions of action for party echelons and organizations in the immediate future. The deliberations were chaired by Candidate Member of the Politburo and First Secretary of the Gdansk Province

PZPR Committee Stanislaw Bejger and attended by Director of the Science and Education Department under the Central Committee Bronislaw Ratus.

-- Candidate Member of the Politburo and Secretary of the Central Committee Wlodzimierz Mokrzyaszczak took part at a festive meeting of a 300-member group of war veterans and worker movement activists in Kielce Province.

#### Interparty Cooperation:

24-26 October

-- Poland was visited by a delegation of the Central Committee of the SEPD [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] headed by Director of the Agricultural Department of the SEPD Central Committee Helmut Semmelmann. At a meeting with Director of the Agriculture Department of the PZPR Central Committee the status of cooperation in agricultural policies was assessed and their directions for 1986 were agreed upon.

28 October

-- Central Committee Secretary Zbigniew Michalek received a delegation of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Worker Party headed by Deputy Director of the Agricultural Policy Department Jure Kovacs, during its sojourn in Poland. The meeting was attended by Director of the Agriculture Department of the Central Committee Stefan Zawodzinski.

20-31 October

-- Poland was toured by a delegation of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Worker Party headed by Central Committee Secretary Janos Berecz. The delegation held talks with the members of the Politburo and Central Committee Secretariat Jozef Czyrek, Jan Glowczyk and Marian Orzechowski, as well as with Deputy Prime Minister Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski and the directors of the following Central Committee departments: Ideology; Press, Radio and Television; and Information.

-- As part of the cooperation between the PZPR and the CPSU a group of CPSU Central Committee lecturers sojourned in recent days in Poland. The appearances by Soviet lecturers in various socio-occupational communities in six provinces dealt with actual tasks of party work and the preparations for the 27th CPSU Congress. The group of lecturers was received by Director of the Ideology Department under the Central Committee Wladyslaw Loranc.

31 October

-- Candidate Member of the Politburo and Minister of Internal Affairs General of Arms Czeslaw Kiszczak was received at the Prague Castle by Secretary General of the Czechoslovak CP President of the CSSR Gustav Husak. G. Husak decorated Cz. Kiszczak with the Order of Friendship for his achievements in promoting friendship and cooperation between Poland and Czechoslovakia.

-- Concluding their sojourn in Poland, war-veteran writers from the USSR met at the seat of the Central Committee with Director of the Culture Department under the Central Committee Witold Nawrocki.

27 October-2 November

-- A delegation of the PZPR Central Committee headed by Director of the Socio-Occupational Department under the Central Committee Stanislaw Gabrielski visited Portugal. The delegation of the PZPR Central Committee was received by Secretary General of the Portuguese CP Central Committee Alvaro Cunhal, and it held talks with Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Carlos Costa and Director of the Foreign Department of the Central Committee of the Portuguese CP Albano Nunes.

6-8 November

-- Poland was visited by a delegation of the SEPD Central Committee headed by Central Committee Member and Director of the Construction Department under the SEPD Central Committee Gerhard Troelitzsch. The delegation was received by Candidate Member of the Politburo and Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee Jan Glowczyk. The GDR Ambassador Horst Neubauer was present.

#### Party Activities Calendar 11-24 Nov 85

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish 4 Dec 85 p 21

[Unattributed report: "Party Chronicle: 11-24 Nov 85]

[Text] 22nd PZPR Central Committee Plenum:

11 November

-- The PZPR Central Committee met for the second part of its 22nd plenary session.

-- The plenum examined the draft program for implementing the Resolution of the 19th Central Committee Plenum and accepted the text of the document for implementation.

-- As the second item on its agenda, the Central Committee plenum granted party recommendations to candidates for members of the Council of Ministers on the eve of the Sejm session.

As regards organizational matters, the plenum:

-- accepted the resignation of Politburo Member Kazimierz Barciszewski from the post of Central Committee secretary in connection with his election by the Sejm to the post of vice chairman of the Council of State;

-- accepted the resignation of Stefan Olszowski from the Politburo on the grounds of personal reasons and the desire to devote himself to publicistic-scientific work;

-- appointed to the post of Central Committee secretary Marian Wozniak, a Politburo member and first secretary of the Warsaw PZPR Committee;

-- recalled Wieslaw Bek from the post of editor-in-chief of TRYBUNA LUDU in connection with his transfer to government work;

-- appointed Jerzy Majka to the post of editor-in-chief of TRYBUNA LUDU and at the same time recalled him from the post of director of the Information Department under the Central Committee.

The deliberations were chaired by First Central Committee Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski.

#### Session of the Central Commission for PZPR-ZSL-SD Cooperation:

11 November

-- The Central Commission for PZPR-ZSL-SD Cooperation held a session at which agreements were reached on matters relating to the second meeting of the Sejm. At the session the PZPR side was represented by: Wojciech Jaruzelski, Kazimierz Barcikowski, Jozef Czyrek, Zbigniew Messner, Tadeusz Porebski and Wlodzimierz Mokrzenszczak.

Joint Session of the Central Cooperation Commission and the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the PRON National Council:

11 November

-- A joint session of the Central Commission for PZPR-ZSL-SD Cooperation and the Presidium of the PRON National Council was held. The agreements reached by the Central Commission for Cooperation with respect to the second meeting of the Sejm were presented and discussed. The Presidium of the Executive Committee of the PRON National Council accorded its support.

#### Session of the Politburo of the Central Committee:

19 November

The Politburo:

-- discussed the implementation of the conservation program during the years 1983-1985 and the basic tasks in this field until 1990;

-- examined the implementation of the resolutions of the Ninth Central Committee Plenum concerning work education and the stimulation of economic initiative and production activism among youth and considered a report on consultation about the assumptions of the draft decree for broadening the participation of youth in the country's sociopolitical, economic and cultural life;



-- evaluated positively the draft decree for the plant social services fund and the plant housing fund.

#### Conferences and Meetings:

11 November

-- The Commission for Recommendations, Complaints and Signals from the Population under the Central Committee discussed the implementation of tasks ensuing from the Central Committee and province committee resolutions concerning the handling of problems of citizens by party echelons and organizations in the Lublin, Tarnobrzeg, Szczecin and Wroclaw provinces. The deliberations were chaired by Politburo Member Albin Siwak.

-- The Commission for Social Policies under the Central Committee discussed aspects of CPR '86 [1986 Central Annual Plan] relating to prices, employment, wages and living conditions. The deliberations were chaired by Candidate Member of the Politburo and Secretary of the Central Committee Jan Glowczyk.

The Agriculture Commission under the Central Committee examined the current situation of agriculture with allowance for the 1986 Central Annual Plan and evaluated the the status and implementation of land-reclamation and rural water supply investment projects as well as the premises of new legal and organizational solutions concerning land management. The deliberations were chaired by Central Committee Secretary Zbigniew Michalek and attended by Director of the Central Committee's Agriculture Department Stefan Zawodzinski.

-- The Commission for Law and Order under the Central Committee evaluated the sociopolitical situation of the lawyer community and the directions of action to improve it. The deliberations were chaired by the commission's vice chairperson Lucjan Czubinski.

-- The Commission for Science and Education under the Central Committee considered reports on the course of elections to the Sejm in the educational and university community, the status of the work on the implementing regulations for the revised decree on higher education, the development of the movement for Active National Assistance to Schools and the status of the party in higher schools. The deliberations were chaired by the commission's vice chairperson Tadeusz Chmielniak.

-- The Working Team for Historical Education held a session under the chairmanship of Candidate Member of the Politburo Professor Marian Orzechowski. Matters relating to the training and advanced training of teachers were discussed. Director of the Department of Science and Education under the Central committee Bronislaw Ratus took part in the deliberations.

12 November

-- The Ideology Commission under the Central Committee discussed the sociopolitical situation following the elections to the Sejm and the ensuing tasks for the ideological front and considered the assumptions of the system of

party schooling. The deliberations were chaired by Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Czyrek.

13 November

-- A session of the collegium and executive board of the basic party organization at TRYBUNA LUDU was held with the participation of Candidate Member of the Politburo and Secretary of the Central Committee Jan Glowczyk. J. Glowczyk formally appointed Jerzy Majka the editor-in-chief of TRYBUNA LUDU. Director of the Press, Radio and Television Department under the Central Committee Bogdan Jachacz took part in the session.

14 November

-- The Warsaw PZPR Committee, deliberating in the presence of First Central Committee Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski, relieved Marian Wozniak from the post of first secretary of this committee in connection with his appointment to the post of Central Committee secretary. Janusz Kubasiewicz was elected the new first secretary of the Warsaw PZPR Committee. J. Kubasiewicz was previously director of the Socio-Legal Department under the Central Committee. Those taking part in the session included: Politburo Member Albin Siwak, Candidate Member of the Politburo and Secretary of the Central Committee Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak and Director of the Cadre Policy Department Wladyslaw Honkisz.

-- In Warsaw was held a conference of first secretaries of party committees in military districts, the armed services and military academies. The directions and tasks of party work in the army ensuing from the preparations for the 10th PZPR Congress were discussed. The Chief of the GZP WP [Main Political Directorate of the Polish Army] and Deputy Minister of National Defense General of Arms Jozef Baryla took part in the conference.

15 November

-- Candidate Member of the Politburo and Secretary of the Central Committee Jan Glowczyk met with Soviet journalists accredited to Poland. Problems of cooperation between Polish and Soviet mass media during the period of preparations for the 27th CPSU Congress and the 10th PZPR Congress were discussed. The meeting was attended by Director of the Press, Radio and Television Department under the Central Committee Bogdan Jachacz.

15-16 November

-- In Warsaw was held a conference of secretaries of higher-school PZPR committees at which the tasks of party organizations in the university student community were discussed. The conference was chaired by Director of the Department for Science and Education under the Central Committee Bronislaw Ratus and attended by Director of the Department for Youth under the Central Committee Leszek Miller.

18 November

-- In Warsaw was held a conference of the province party committee secretaries responsible for cultural matters. It was chaired by Central Committee secretary Waldemar Swirgon.

21 November

-- In Prague was held a meeting of the leaders of the member countries of the Warsaw Treaty. The Polish side was represented by First Central Committee Secretary and Chairman of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski. Minister of Foreign Affairs Marian Orzechowski also was present. At the meeting Secretary General of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev briefed the participants on the course and results of the recent Soviet-American summit meeting in Geneva.

-- Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Czyrek received a delegation of the Federal Conference of the Socialist Union of the Working People of Yugoslavia during its sojourn in Poland, headed by Presidium Chairman Professor Aleksandr Grliczkov.

22 November

-- In Warsaw was held a conference on ideology and theory for the high command of the PRL armed forces. The speakers at the conference included the candidate members of the Politburo Central Committee Secretary Wlodzimierz Mokrzyaszczak and Minister of Foreign Affairs Marian Orzechowski as well as Central Committee Secretary Waldemar Swirgon. Candidate Member of the Politburo and Minister of National Defense Army General Florian Siwicki took part in the conference.

23 November

-- The 17th Plenum of the CKKP [Central Party Control Commission] was held with the participation of chairpersons of the province party control commissions. The implementation of the tasks adopted for the second half of this year, a draft plan of action for the subsequent months and the work on the CKKP's report to the 10th Party Congress were discussed. The deliberations were chaired by CKKP Chairman Jerzy Urbanski.

At Party Echelons and Organizations

15 November

-- The Radom Province PZPR Committee discussed the intelligentsia's role in developing the region with allowance for the implementation of the resolution of the 19th Central Committee Plenum. The participants in the deliberations included Politburo Member Zofia Grzyb and Central Committee department directors Wladyslaw Loranc and Witold Nawrocki.

-- The Bialystok Province PZPR Committee evaluated the implementation of the resolution of the joint Ninth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee and the ZSL Supreme Committee and outlined the main tasks for Bialystok agriculture. Central Committee Secretary Zbigniew Michalek took part in the deliberations.

16 November

-- Central Committee Secretary Waldemar Swirgon met at the PERKOZ School of Senior Scouts near Olsztynek with young councilmen and deputies recommended by the ZHP [Polish Scouts Union].

18 November

-- The Sieradz Province PZPR Committee discussed the tasks of the province party organization and basic-level echelons in strengthening the role of party members in their communities.

20 November

-- The Wroclaw Province PZPR Committee assessed the campaign of elections to the Sejm in the province and, in this context, outlined the directions of action in strengthening socialist democracy, the leading role of the party and stabilization of sociopolitical life in the province.

-- Politburo Member Zofia Grzyb met with the party-managerial aktiv of JARLAN Knitwear Industry Works in Jaroslaw.

21 November

-- The Gorzow Wielkopolski PZPR Province Committee discussed the directions of cultural development in the province, particularly within the worker community. Central Committee Secretary Waldemar Swirgon took part in the deliberations.

-- The Plock Province PZPR Committee examined the assumptions of the 1986-1990 province socioeconomic plan.

-- Politburo Member Zofia Grzyb took part in the opening of an exhibition depicting the martyrology of the Polish nation during World War II, organized at the vocational school of the RADOSKOR Leather Industry Works in Radom.

22 November

-- The Pila Province PZPR Committee evaluated the functioning of institutions serving the rural population in the light of implementing the resolution of the Ninth Central Committee Plenum. Politburo Member Albin Siwak and Director of the Bureau of Letters and Inspections under the Central Committee Marian Kot took part in the deliberations.

-- The Legnica Province PZPR Committee discussed the tasks of the province party organization in shaping the state-mindedness [l'etatisme-mindedness] of the society.

-- The Wloclawek Province PZPR Committee considered the problems of housing construction in the context of the 1986-1990 development plan for the region.

23 November

-- In Katowice were held funeral ceremonies for General Jerzy Zietek, Builder of People's Poland. They also were attended by the following representatives of the supreme authorities and members of the Politburo: Prime Minister Zbigniew Messner, Vice Chairman of the Council of State Kazimierz Barcikowski, and miner Jerzy Romanik, and also Candidate Member of the Politburo Central Committee Secretary Jan Glowczyk.

#### Interparty Cooperation

4-12 November

-- A delegation of the Central Committee of the Labor Party of Korea headed by Central Committee Member and Director of the Economic Department Kong Sun Chi sojourned in Poland. The guests were received by Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski. Director of the Economic Department under the Central Committee Marek Holdakowski took part in the conversation.

14 November

-- Secretary General of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak CP Gustav Husak received PZPR Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski during his working visit to Czechoslovakia. In the course of the conversation, cooperation between the PZPR and the Czechoslovak CP in the field of ideology was evaluated. Candidate Member of the Presidium and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak CP Jan Fojtik and Secretary of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak CP Josef Havlin took part in the conversation.

11-15 November

-- A working delegation of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian CP headed by First Deputy Director of the Department of Ideological Policy under the Central Committee V. Momov sojourned in Poland. Toward the end of its sojourn the delegation was received by Candidate Member of the Politburo and Secretary of the Central Committee Jan Glowczyk. Director of the Ideology Department under the PZPR Central Committee Wladyslaw Loranc took part in the meeting.

22 November

-- A one-day working visit to Bucharest was paid by First Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and Chairman of the PRL Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski. He was accompanied by Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Czyrek and Deputy Prime Minister and Chairman of the Planning Commission Manfred Gorywoda.

-- A study delegation of the Agriculture Department under the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, headed by department

director Gendegijn Bizjan ended its visit of several days to Poland. The delegation was received by Candidate Member of the Politburo and Central Committee Secretary Wlodzimierz Mokrzyaszczak.

#### Party Activities Calendar 25 Nov - 8 Dec 85

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish 18 Dec 85 p 21

[Unattributed report: "Party Chronicle: 25 November--8 December 1985"]

[Text] Politburo Sessions:

26 November

The Politburo:

-- studied a report on the meeting of the leaders of the socialist countries in Prague subsequent to the talks between Secretary General of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev and the President of the United States;

-- discussed next year's central plan and the anticipated conditions of its fulfillment;

-- considered a forecast for meeting the food needs of the society in the coming year as well as the status of land reclamation and rural water supply;

-- listened to a report on Wojciech Jaruzelski's visit to Romania.

Second All-Polish Party Conference on Ideology and Theory:

28 November

-- The 2-day Second All-Polish Party Conference on Ideology and Theory, devoted to discussing the draft PZPR Program, was ended. The participants in the deliberations included, in addition to 500 invited party activists, members of the Politburo and Secretariat of the Central Committee. During the deliberations, which were chaired by Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Czyrek, reports were presented by Candidate Member of the Politburo Marian Orzechowski and Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski. On the first day of the conference an address was delivered by First Central Committee Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski. Next, the conference participants deliberated in eight topic sections. On the second day of the conference, reports on the activities of the topic sections were presented and a plenary discussion took place.

Conferences and Meetings:

25 November

-- The Culture Commission under the Central Committee discussed the current status and development prospects of stage entertainment in Poland. The deliberations were chaired by Central Committee Secretary Waldemar Swirgon.

26 November

-- First Central Committee Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski met with Chairman of the PTNP [Polish Society of Political Sciences] Professor Czeslaw Mojsiewicz and members of the Society in connection with the 25th anniversary and Seventh Congress of the PTNP. Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Tadeusz Porebski took part in the meeting.

27 November

-- First Central Committee Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski, in the presence of Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Marian Wozniak, received Harry Tisch, a member of the Politburo of the SEPD Central Committee and chairman of the Central Board of the FDGB [Association of Free German Trade Unions], during his visit to Poland as head of the FDGB delegation invited by the OPZZ [National Federation of Trade Unions].

28 November

-- First Central Committee Secretary and Chairman of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski arrived in Katowice Province in connection with the coming Day of the Miner. W. Jaruzelski and the Politburo members and Central Committee secretaries Marian Wozniak and Jerzy Romanik toured the construction site of the miners' hospital in Sosnowiec and visited miners at the GENERAL ZAWADZKI Mine. At a meeting with mine-crew representatives W. Jaruzelski decorated the mine's flag with the Grand Cross of Poland's Rebirth. A group of leading miners received from W. Jaruzelski's hands high state decorations.

-- The Commission for the Protection of Public Health and Natural Environment under the Central Committee completed its 2-day deliberations at a circuit session in Katowice dealing with restoration of the ecological equilibrium and reduction of industrial pollution. The deliberations were chaired by Politburo Member Stanislaw Opalko.

-- A 2-day all-Polish methodological conference on "Plant Systems of Working With Technician Personnel," organized in Jachranka near Warsaw by the Cadre Policy Department under the Central Committee and the Ministry of Metallurgy and Machine Industry as well as the Ministry of Chemical and Light Industry, came to an end. Its deliberations were summed up by Director of the Cadre Policy Department under the Central Committee Wladyslaw Honkisz.

29 November

-- Assessment of Sejm elections and the ensuing conclusions regarding party work prior to the 10th Congress were the topics of a meeting between Central Committee lecturers and Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Tadeusz Porebski.

29-30 November

-- A conference of the economic secretaries of province party committees was held in Poznan. Problems of housing construction, a more efficient

consumption of raw and other materials and energy and the 1986 Central Annual Plan were the topics of discussion. The deliberations were chaired by Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Marian Wozniak, and participated in by Politburo Member Stanislaw Kalkus.

30 November

-- At the seat of the Central Committee was held a conference of directors of interprovince and province party schools. The tasks of the schools for the first half of 1986 were discussed. Candidate Member of the Politburo and Secretary of the Central Committee Wlodzimierz Mokrzyyszczak took part in the conference.

3 December

-- On the eve of the traditional "Day of the Miner" a ceremonial meeting was held at the House of Music and Dance in Zabrze. It was attended by, in addition to the leading miners and heads of the province, the following representatives of the highest party and state authorities: Zbigniew Messner, Roman Malinowski, Tadeusz Witold Mlynczak, Kazimierz Barcikowski, Stanislaw Kalkus, Jerzy Romanik, Albin Siwak, Marian Wozniak, Czeslaw Kiszczak, Manfred Gorywoda, Jozef Koziol and Zbigniew Szalajda.

4 December

-- At the PZPR Central Committee was held a national conference of province party committee secretaries and editors-in-chief of press, radio and television agencies. The participation of the mass media in the campaign for elections to the Sejm and the conclusions ensuing from this campaign for propaganda work were discussed. The discussion was opened with a speech by Director of the Press, Radio and Television Department under the Central Committee Bogdan Jachacz, and summed up by Candidate member of the Politburo and Secretary of the Central Committee Jan Glowczyk.

5 December

-- The Central Committee's Commission on Women discussed the operation of the "Practical Woman" and "Modern Homemaker" centers. A report on the participation of the Polish delegation in the International Women's Conference in Nairobi and on the female deputies to the Ninth Session of the Sejm was also presented. The deliberations were chaired by Politburo Member Zofia Grzyb.

6 December

-- First Central Committee Secretary and Chairman of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski granted an interview to the West German weekly STERN. The text of the interview was published in TRYBUNA LUDU of 6 December 1985.

-- On the invitation of First Central Committee Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski a visit of several days was paid to Warsaw by the Chairman of the SPD [Socialdemocratic Party of Germany] Willy Brandt. The next day, the PZPR



and SPD delegations held talks chaired by Wojciech Jaruzelski and Willy Brandt.

-- On the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the satirical weekly SZPILKI an exhibition of satirical drawings was opened in the capital city's Museum of Caricature by Candidate Member of the Politburo and Secretary of the Central Committee Jan Glowczyk.

7 December

-- Candidate Member of the Politburo and Secretary of the Central Committee Jan Glowczyk met with the editorial team of ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE in connection with the weekly's 40th jubilee anniversary. Some 15 of the team's members received state decorations.

At Party Echelons and Organizations

25 November

-- The Szczecin Province PZPR Committee discussed the tasks of party members and organizations in implementing the resolution of the 20th Central Committee Plenum. Candidate Member of the Politburo and Secretary of the Central Committee Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak took part in the deliberations.

-- The Suwalki Province PZPR Committee discussed the development of the agricultural and food industry in the province until 1990.

-- The Olsztyn Province PZPR Committee outlined the directions of strengthening the province party organization.

-- Politburo Member Albin Siwak participated in an open party meeting at the Warsaw ENERGObUD Power Construction Plant, dealing with the conditions for the activism of the rising generation.

28 November

-- The Lodz Province PZPR Committee evaluated the implementation of socio-economic tasks and discussed the tasks ensuing from the assumptions of the 1988-1990 National Socioeconomic Plan for the Lodz Province.

-- The Biala Podlaska Province PZPR Committee discussed ways of improving the system of national education at educational and upbringing institutions.

-- The Leszno Province PZPR Committee evaluated the implementation of the province socioeconomic plan in the years 1983-1985 and outlined tasks of party work for the years 1986-1990.

-- The Zamosc Province PZPR Committee deliberated improvements in rural and agricultural services.

29 November

-- The Elblag Province PZPR Committee, at a joint session with the ZSL Supreme Committee, discussed the principal problems of the province's agriculture. The participants in the session included: PZPR Central Committee Secretary Zbigniew Michalek and ZSL Supreme Committee Secretary Kazimierz Olesiak.

-- The Ciechanow Province PZPR Committee formulated recommendations and tasks for party echelons and organizations ensuing from the campaign for elections to the Sejm. The plenary session also considered reports on the implementation of resolutions of the plenums of the Central Committee and the province committee concerning suggestions and complaints submitted to party echelons and organizations.

-- The Kalisz Province PZPR Committee evaluated the implementation of the resolution of the 13th Central Committee Plenum concerning the main assumptions of PZPR cadre policy.

-- The Krakow PZPR Committee discussed the main directions of the work of party organizations in the academic and cultural communities.

-- The Tarnow Province PZPR Committee discussed problems of law and order on the province's territory.

#### 2 December

-- The Katowice Province PZPR Committee discussed the living conditions of the province's population and the results of the social policies pursued by work establishments. Politburo Member Jerzy Romanik participated in the deliberations.

-- In connection with the 65th birthday of merited party and state activist Jerzy Muszynski, the PZPR CKR Chairman Kazimierz Morawski met with the jubilee celebrant at the seat of the PZPR Central Committee and conveyed to him best wishes and expressions of acknowledgment.

#### 5 December

-- The Czestochowa Province PZPR Committee evaluated the implementation of the resolutions adopted at its plenary sessions in the last 3 years with respect to ideological-upbringing activities. The committee accepted the resignation of Wladyslaw Jonkisz from the post of first committee secretary in connection with his being entrusted by the Sejm the duties of a member of the Council of State. The committee elected a new first secretary, Jerzy Sypek, previously a secretary of this echelon. Candidate Member of the Politburo and Secretary of the Central Committee Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak participated in the deliberations.

-- The Bielsko Biala Province PZPR and ZSL committees evaluated at a joint session the implementation of tasks in agriculture. Central Committee Secretary Zbigniew Michalek, Director of the Department of Intraparty Management under the Central Committee Antoni Gorny and Chairman of the Agriculture Commission under the ZSL Supreme Committee Professor Waldemar Michna participated in the deliberations.

-- The Ostroleka Province PZPR and ZSL committees evaluated the implementation of the resolution of the 11th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee and the ZSL Supreme Committee, with special consideration of the social conditions in the countryside. Director of the Agriculture Department under the Central Committee Stefan Zawodzinski and Deputy Director of the Economy and Agriculture Department under the ZSL Supreme Committee Stanislaw Pohorylo participated in the deliberations.

-- The Piotrkow Trybunalski Province PZPR Committee discussed the principal problems of cultural development in the province until 1990. Candidate Member of the Politburo and Secretary of the Central Committee Jan Glowczyk participated in the deliberations.

-- The Torun Province PZPR Committee considered problems of shaping socialist awareness as part of the cultural education of the province's population.

6 December

-- The Skierniewice Province PZPR and ZSL committees evaluated at a joint session the implementation so far of tasks ensuing from the resolution of the 11th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee and the ZSL Supreme Committee. Member of the Presidium and Secretary of the ZSL Supreme Committee Kazimierz Olesiak and Deputy Director of the Agriculture Department under the PZPR Central Committee Ludwik Stasinski took part in the deliberations.

-- The Slupsk Province PZPR Committee evaluated the implementation of the 3-Year (1983-1985) Socioeconomic Plan in the province. Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Marian Wozniak took part in the deliberations.

-- The Tarnobrzeg Province PZPR and ZSL committees evaluated, at a joint circuit session in Sichow, the implementation in the province of the resolution of the 11th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee and the ZSL Supreme Committee. PZPR Central Committee Secretary Zbigniew Michalek and Vice President of the Party Court under the ZSL Supreme Committee Stanislaw Zielinski took part in the deliberations.

-- The Warsaw PZPR Committee discussed the directions of further work on the internal strengthening of the Warsaw party organization. Politburo Member Albin Siwak and Candidate Member of the Politburo and Secretary of the Central Committee Wlodzimierz Mokrzenszczak took part in the deliberations.

7 December

-- In Wloclawek was held a conference of 1,300 secretaries of basic party organizations and the aktiv of the province. The performance of basic party organizations was evaluated and the main directions of the political campaign prior to the 10th Party Congress were determined. Candidate Member of the Politburo and Secretary of the Central Committee Wlodzimierz Mokrzenszczak and Deputy Director of the Political-Organizational Department under the Central Committee Jan Bluszkowski took part in the deliberations.

## Interparty Cooperation:

25-29 November

-- A delegation of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Worker Party] headed by Central Committee Member and Secretary of the Samogy HSWP Central Committee Imre Klenovics visited Poland. The delegation held talks with the heads of the Political-Organizational Department under the PZPR Central Committee and familiarized itself with the work of party echelons and organizations in Gdansk and Bydgoszcz provinces. Toward the end of its visit the delegation was received by Candidate Member of the Politburo and Secretary of the Central Committee Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak in the presence of Director of the Political-Organization Department under the Central Committee Kazimierz Cypryński.

26-30 November

-- A worker delegation headed by Deputy Director of the Agriculture Department under the SEPD Central Committee Heinz Drescher visited Poland. The delegation toured the Lomza, Bialystok and Suwalki provinces and held talks with Director of the Agriculture Department under the PZPR Central Committee Stefan Zawodzinski. The delegation was received by Central Committee Secretary Zbigniew Michalek.

-- Poland was visited by a delegation of the Central Committee of the Worker Party of Ethiopia, headed by Central Committee Secretary Wubeshet Dessie. During their visit to Radom Province, First Province Committee Secretary Bogdan Prus briefed the visitors about the socioeconomic problems and main directions of party work in the province. Politburo Member Zofia Grzyb took part in the meeting. Candidate Member of the Politburo and Secretary of the Central Committee Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak held talks with the delegation.

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## INCREASED SOVIET CONTACTS, COOPERATION

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13 Nov 85 p 7

## Theatre Festival in Katowice

["Festival of Russian and Soviet Drama in Katowice" -- PAP report; passages within slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] On 15 [Nov 85] in Katowice will begin the jubilee 10th Festival of Russian and Soviet Theatre, which will last until 24 November./

This quadrennial series of performances of the modern theatre and classical plays of the Land of the Soviets will be inaugurated this year by the Malyy Theatre of Moscow, which will stage Sergey Naydonov's "Vanyushin's Children" and Yuriy Bondarev's "The Choice" for audiences in Silesia, Poznan and Warsaw.

Concerning the visit of Malyy Teatr to Poland, it is worth noting that several weeks ago the Stanislaw Wyspianski Silesian Theatre of Katowice had given performances in Moscow. /The USSR Ministry of Culture sent the management and troupe of the Silesian theatre a letter of thanks for its successful performances along with best wishes for further successes in artistic activity, in propagating Russian and Soviet drama and in developing and strengthening cultural cooperation between Poland and the Soviet Union/ [emphasized]. Malyy Teatr will give performances in Katowice (15-16 [Nov 85]), Poznan (18-19 [Nov 85]) and Warsaw (21-25 [Nov 85]).

## Soviet Mass Media Cooperation

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16-17 Nov 85

[Unattributed report under 'Chronicle' rubric: "Cooperation Between Polish and Soviet Mass Media"]

[Text] On 15 [Nov 85] Candidate Member of the Politburo and Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee Jan Glowczyk met with Soviet journalists accredited in Poland. Aspects of cooperation between Polish and Soviet mass media during the period of preparations for the 27th CPSU Congress and the 10th PZPR Congress were discussed.

The meeting was attended by Director of the Press, Radio and Television Department under the PZPR Central Committee Bogdan Jachacz. USSR Embassy Councilor Mikhail Krapivin was present.

#### 'Moscow-85' Festival Conclusion

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16-17 Nov 85

[Untitled report under the rubric "The Polish Press Agency Informs"]

[Text] The final session of the Polish "Moscow-85" Festival Committee was held on 15 [Nov 85] in Warsaw. The meeting was opened by Jerzy Szmajdzinski, vice chairperson of the PKF [Polish Festival Committee] and vice chairperson of the Main Board of the ZSMP [Union of Polish Socialist Youth], and PKF Secretary Andrzej Minko reported on the accomplishments and lessons of the festival. Thanks for help in preparing this meeting of the progressive youth of the world as well as for active participation therein were expressed by Nikolay Pal'tsev, director of the Agitation and Propaganda Department under the Central Committee of Lenin's Komsomol. Secretary General of the TPPR [Main Board of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society] Stefan Nawrot described projects undertaken by elements of the TPPR.

Director of Youth Department under the PZPR Central Committee Leszek Miller participated in the deliberations.

In the evening the session participants gathered at a festive concert performed by Polish ensembles and a group of artists from the Land of the Soviets. The audience included Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee Waldemar Swirgon.

#### Soviet Farmers Delegation Visits

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20 Nov 85 p 2

[Unattributed report: "From the Sojourn of the Delegation of Soviet Farmers"]

[Text] On the invitation of the PZPR Central Committee a delegation of Soviet farmers, members of the CPSU, is touring Poland. It is headed by Twice Hero of Socialist Labor Vasiliy Chergantsev, a harvesting-combine driver at the Rassvet Kolkhoz in Orenburg Oblast.

Following talks held at the Agriculture Department under the PZPR Central Committee the Soviet guests traveled to Poznan, where they were received by the heads of the Poznan Province PZPR Committee. They were briefed on the problems of the region's socioeconomic development, with special consideration of matters relating to the development of agriculture and food management. In addition, there was an exchange of experience relating to party work within local agricultural organizations. The members of the delegation placed wreaths at the Monument to Heroes in the Park of Friendship and Brotherhood of Arms, Poznan Citadel.

## Polish-Soviet Friendship Society

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21 Nov 85 p 5

[Untitled report under the rubric "PAP Informs"]

[Text] The accomplishments of the nation's largest plant branch of the TPPR at the Stalowa Wola Steel and Iron Plant were assessed on 20 [Nov 85] at a report-program conference; a portentous moment during the deliberations was the presentation of the 10,000th membership card by the plant TPPR organization to Halina Rzepa, a plant department employee. The conference was attended by PZPR Central Committee Secretary Henryk Bednarski, who congratulated the plant's TPPR activists on their significant accomplishments.

## Soviet Chemists Union Delegation Visit

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21 Nov 85 p 5

[Article by (ges): "Soviet Unionists in Krakow"; passage within slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] /(Own information) A delegation from the Central Committee of the Trade Union of Chemists in Moscow met in Krakow on 20 [Nov 85] with unionists from the STOMIL Rubber Industry Works./

The meeting generated substantive discussion of forms of cooperation among enterprises in the chemical subsectors of Poland and the Soviet Union. In particular, experience in rationalization of labor, social rights of workforces, application of new technologies and technical progress was exchanged. In addition, there was an exchange of information on projects for the next few years.

In the afternoon hours the Soviet guests placed flowers at the Monument Mausoleum of Soviet Army Personnel fallen in the battles for the liberation of Krakow as well as on the slab of the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier.

## Veterans Awarded at Consulate

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 22 Nov 85 p 7

["World War II Veterans Decorated With Medals: At the USSR Consulate in Krakow" -- PAP report; passage within slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] /(C) On 21 [Nov 85] at the USSR Consulate in Krakow 30 World War II veterans who had served in the Soviet Army were awarded medals honoring the 40th anniversary of the defeat of fascism, granted by the USSR Supreme Soviet. The medals were presented by the Consul General and Plenipotentiary Minister of the USSR in Krakow Georgiy Rudov./

The group of decorated veterans from, among other places, the provinces of Bielsk, Nowy Sad, Kielce, Krakow, Katowice and Zamosc, was honored with the

following medals: for the defense of the Caucasus, Odessa, Sevastopol, Stalingrad, Kiev and Warsaw, and for the conquest of Berlin.

#### Cooperative Film Making Planned

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 22 Nov 85 p 7

["Plans for Film Coproduction Between Poland and the USSR" -- PAP report; passage within slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] /(C) According to ZESPOLY FILMOWE Filming Enterprise a preliminary agreement for joint production of the diptich bearing the provisional title "We Shall Remain Faithful" has been signed in Moscow between Polish and USSR filmmaking groups./ Filmmaking enterprises from Czechoslovakia, the GDR and Hungary will also participate in producing the film. This work will depict the brotherhood of arms that was born in the fire of battle on fields of battle. [PAP report] [Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 22 Nov 85 p 7] 2600

#### PZPR CC Delegation in Moscow

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23-24 Nov 85 p 7

[Unattributed report under the rubric "The PRL and the USSR: Strengthening of Cooperation"]

[Text] On the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee a delegation of the PZPR Central Committee headed by Central Committee Secretary Zbigniew Michalek made an official visit to the Soviet Union.

During its 5-day sojourn in the Land of the Soviets the delegation met with, among others, CPSU Central Committee Secretary Viktor Nikonov. Z. Michalek and V. Nikonov exchanged experience relating to party work as well as information on the current situation in the agriculture of both countries and on the tasks of agricultural ministries for the next 5-year period. In addition, they discussed problems relating to the further expansion and strengthening of Polish-Soviet cooperation in agriculture and food management as well as the question of mutual exchange of knowhow. Z. Michalek and V. Nikonov furthermore considered problems of the further development of trade in agricultural commodities between Poland and the USSR and exchanged information on the measures being taken in both countries to achieve self-sufficiency in food production.

#### OPZZ Delegation in Moscow

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23-24 Nov 85 p 7

[Unattributed report under the rubric "The PRL and the USSR: Strengthening of Cooperation"]

[Text] A working visit to Moscow was completed by a delegation of the OPZZ [National Confederation of Trade Unions] headed by the Chairman of the Commission for International Cooperation Jerzy Uzieblo.

The OPZZ delegation familiarized itself with the whole of the international activities of Soviet trade unions. At meetings with K. Matskiavichus and A. Subbotin, secretaries of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, and in talks with the heads of the foreign department, the results and prospects so far of bilateral cooperation were discussed.



## HEAD OF HIGHER MILITARY MEDICAL INSTITUTE INTERVIEWED

Sofia BULGÁRSKI VOIN in Bulgarian No 9, 1985 pp 14-15

[Interview granted by Mj Gen Prof Nikolay Kuppenov, chief of the Higher Military Medical Institute, on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of its founding: "The VVMI [Higher Military Medical Institute]--A High Prestige Institute"]

[Text] [Question] Comrade General, what are the main aspects in the development of the VVMI which were the base for its current successes?

[Answer] Let me stress, above all, the great perspicacity of the BCP Central Committee, which was manifested in the decision to set up the VVMI and the accurate concept formulated by the MNO [Ministry of National Defense] regarding the nature of the institute as a one-of-a-kind establishment. The institute was to help resolve much more successfully problems of training military medical cadres, the need for which was growing with incredible speed, to enhance standards of treatment and diagnosis in the all-army hospital, to accelerate progress and to improve scientific research efficiency in the field of military medicine. The establishment of the VVMI made it possible to carry out these assignments on a comprehensive basis.

The second important feature was strengthening the ties between the VVMI and the S. M. Kirov Military Medical Academy in Leningrad, where a large number of our institute's military medical personnel were trained. They include the tremendous majority of our leading specialists, who apply Soviet experience in the field of medicine and military medicine in our institute.

The third important feature worth noting is the scientific development of cadres as a result of the establishment of the VVMI. Currently the institute employs a large number of professors, docents and senior scientific associates first and second class; a number of candidate and doctoral dissertations have been defended. The number of honored physicians and honored workers in sciences, laureates of the Dimitrov prize and others is impressive. Along with the development of cadres, the training-education, treatment and scientific activities of the institute have marked progress.

Finally, the new VVMI building is a basic feature. Progress in all of the institute's activities was accomplished also with the old facilities which,

however, quite soon turned into a hindrance to further development. Thanks to the concern of the party and the direct guidance of the construction by Army General Dobri Dzhurov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and minister of national defense, we now have an exceptionally rich and modern base which offers incomparably better conditions for the treatment of the patients and for the work of the personnel. It is a prerequisite for enhancing overall activities to a much higher level.

[Question] What are the most important treatment and prophylactic assignments to be carried out by the collective currently and how are they being resolved?

[Answer] The institute's collective faces important and responsible assignments in the area of diagnostic and treatment work. This includes, above all, the steady enhancement of the level of such activities and their efficiency. An increasing number of people suffering from most severe illnesses are coming to the institute for treatment after no other help has been available in a number of cases. This makes it incumbent upon us constantly to improve our diagnostic process, reduce diagnostic errors to a minimum and formulate an accurate course of treatment.

Secondly, we must master, perfect and apply the latest contemporary and highly effective treatment methods. In this respect, our aspiration is to compare ourselves not with what was yesterday and what is today in our country but what is taking place in the rest of the world. Our time demands the aspiration to reach global standards.

It is not easy for us to assess the implementation of this task by ourselves. We believe that some successes have been achieved in this respect. One objective criterion, for example, is the fact that in recent years our diagnosis has not been amended for even one patient sent abroad for consultation. Today the people abroad base their treatment entirely on our studies which are not rechecked. As a rule, any plan for treatment drawn up by Bulgarian physicians has not been subjected to substantial changes.

Another task is decisively to improve patient care. This is made incumbent upon us by the party decisions and the new building of the institute, which is providing us with excellent conditions. The decisive factor now in this respect is the subjective one.

We believe that positive changes have been made in this respect. The two-step care at the institute has already become a fact and is being applied with increasing success. In no case should we think, however, that we have done enough.

One of the main principles in health care in a socialist society is prevention. It is fully applied in our work. In recent years the institute has extensively applied on an increasingly higher level the outpatient treatment method. Outpatient treatment of higher ranking command personnel takes place in a clinical environment. The results indicate that this method is entirely justified. In many cases a disease is detected at its early stage, when it can still be treated successfully. Furthermore, we are detecting conditions at the stage directly preceding the development of a

disease, when treatment is very easy. We intend to promote and improve this method.

Finally, the development of several new trends in treatment activities is one of our important tasks. Thus, for example, we shall undertake the even more extensive use of ultrasound diagnosis, expand laser treatment and development of endoscopy, not only for diagnostic purposes but for endoscopic therapy as well. We are encouraging the more extensive development of microsurgery, etc. All of these and other trends, naturally, become possible with the application of scientific and technical progress.

[Question] Could you say something about trends in the use of scientific and technical progress, computerization and utilization of the intellectual potential in VVMI activities?

[Answer] With its new facilities, the VVMI operates on a high scientific and technical level. It is equipped with modern diagnostic and treatment instruments, thanks to which we were able to achieve the type of progress in our diagnostic treatment work we mentioned. The new equipment has been mastered and is being used very successfully, for several highly skilled specialists were trained to work with it. We have set up a full-day schedule for its maximum utilization. The number of tests is growing steadily, which indicates its increased utilization. Let us point out that thanks to the organization of preventive technical control and technical servicing, our equipment rarely breaks down. We are helping other medical institutions whose equipment is temporarily out of order. This occurs most frequently in the use of computer tomography and some other instruments.

We are not satisfied with what we have and we keep trying to improve our technical facilities. We are planning the acquisition of new equipment for the new areas I mentioned.

Our center for scientific military medical information is offering increasing possibilities of upgrading the knowledge of specialists. We are planning its total modernization in the near future through the use of computers which will be connected with the Central Institute for Scientific and Technical Information and with some centers for scientific medical information in the USSR, Czechoslovakia and elsewhere. This will exceptionally improve such activities. We have a long-term plan for upgrading the skills of medical cadres, junior personnel in particular, on the basis of the new requirements. This plan was formulated several years ago and we are currently updating it.

We also pay great attention to the study of Russian and Western languages.

We are currently instructing teachers and scientists in the use of personal computers. This equipment will be subsequently used in student training.

[Question] Comrade General, how do you see the further development of the VVMI?

[Answer] In an ascending line. The available modern technical diagnostic and treatment facilities and the availability of young trained and promising

cadres who provide continuity, and the enthusiasm with which most of the personnel work lead me to believe that the prestige of the institute will continue to grow. Demand for treatment at the institute will increase and, at the same time, the need for consultation and treatment abroad in some severe cases will decline. The organization and system of training health cadres for the needs of the Bulgarian armed forces will improve; an increasingly broader range of scientific military medical problems related to medical support of the troops will be resolved with increasing success. In other words, the contribution of the VVMI to strengthening the health of the soldiers will increase steadily, thus increasing our contribution to upgrading the combat capability and readiness of the Bulgarian people's army.

During the days marking the 25th anniversary of the VVMI we are reviewing our accomplishments and earmarking means of further and even faster development upward and forward.



Major General Professor Nikolay Kупenov

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CSO: 2200/27

## DISAPPOINTING CENSUS RESULTS, ERODING STATE OF FAMILY ANALYZED

Where is the One and Only Woman?

Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 14 Jan 86 p 3

[Article by Tosho Toshev]

[Text] It is true that women are plentiful: one-half of humankind. But where is that one woman? My wife, the one who will love only me, who will give birth to my children and raise them. Who will work as a respected partner among her colleagues although each one of them, even the best, will be merely way below my own manhood in her eyes.

Where is this only woman who will be tender and dear? She will be beautiful and attractive and will be looked over by all men but she will enjoy them only through me because of the pleasant ticklish feeling that it is precisely she, who is the most liked, is also the least accessible, for she will have no place in her heart and bed for anyone but me.

Where is the one who will accept all my male whims with understanding, calm them down in the embrace of her total dedication and gently threaten them with her shaking finger just enough to keep in me the conviction that I interest her everywhere and in everything and that she lives for me and through me?

According to some, this one and only woman no longer exists. She has melted, she has become part of the crowd. Others claim that although she may exist men, ah, those men! have become so unmasculine that they are totally unable to awaken her desire for one of them to be the only one. Yet, there precisely is the magic.

The reason is that truly no single woman could become the only one unless the man who stands by her is also the only one.

It turns out that the family, love, attachment and loyalty of the wife to the husband and the husband to his wife do not depreciate in value their decisive importance to the spiritual world of man. Physicians, sociologists, educators, publicists, writers and politicians deal with problems of family and love. They are almost unanimously worried because not everything is calm and safe in this most intimate human corner. Some even make dark predictions

in which they find no place for the family, at least in its present aspect. Although these may be extremes, alarming facts already exist.

Is it a fact that divorces are irrepressibly increasing?

It is! Absolutely no administrative or moral codes could bind in reinforced concrete the family cell and force it to follow some kind of codified direction, the more so since quite frequently divorce offers the most moral solution.

Is it a fact that an increasingly fewer number of children are being born in today's Bulgaria?

It is a fact! The consequence of this fact is the rather realistic fear that our numbers are declining.

Is it a fact that the oldest and most reliable pillar of the family--marital faithfulness--became despairingly and hopelessly decayed all of a sudden, within one or two generations? It has become decayed and if it has not collapsed entirely, it continues to exist almost as window dressing. The most terrible thing is that marital unfaithfulness is swelling so unexpectedly rapidly that it is already becoming quite difficult to contain it within the discrete limits of the nonmarital bed. Unfortunately it is beginning to come closer to and reach the limits of spiritual betrayal, which cannot be concealed with any false fig leaves or memories of tenderness.

According to researchers, the reasons for all of this and for many other features of today's family are most different, complex and conflicting. Some of them are natural. According to some sex experts, one of the reasons is the "increased erotic enterprise and aggressiveness of women." Such aggressiveness, according to others, is explained by the growing significance of urban stress which, most generally speaking, has shaken loose some biological mechanisms ossified throughout the centuries in women and have armed the woman's body with the type of mischievous hormones which were so far typical of men only. At the same, that same urban stress has lowered precisely the generating of the same type of hormones in men. Naturally, this hypothesis is not shared by all. However, is it a fact that our women of today, not to speak of our daughters, who will be the women of the next generation of men, look very little like our mothers? It is a fact! And although this fact has a number of new pleasant features (level of information, intelligence, emancipation, etc.), does it also not include quite a number of scars which stand out like pock marks on the face of today's family?

It is also a positive fact that finally, women have found their place in society. They work alongside men. This is particularly important, for in the past women also worked but usually only in some kind of jobs for women which men were unwilling to do. Today the modern woman is everywhere where there are men. We even speak of a certain feminization of intellectual sectors in social practice, such as health care, education, some scientific areas, journalism, etc. Ignoring extremes for a moment, we could even claim that from the viewpoint of women and society as a whole, all of this is positive.

It has turned out, however, in our view, that that which is good for women in general and for society as a whole is not always good for the family as well.

Why?

Because after women came out of the family, some strange changes began to take place in what we consider the main cell of society. All of a sudden, the raising and education of children became terribly more difficult. The warmth and coziness of the family hearth began to decline catastrophically. Points of conflict between husband and wife in resolving even most petty daily problems increased at a fantastic speed. Who will take care of dirty dishes and unwashed laundry? Who will iron the man's shirts? Who will make breakfast, for the child at least? (less frequently, for the children?) Who?

Can you remember when was the last time on a weekday that the family sat down at the breakfast table for warm pancakes and a glass of fresh warm milk? There is no time for all this. The wife has no time. That is why the neighborhood coffee shop, the laundromat, are increasingly becoming our common "wife." As to the upbringing of the children, it takes place at the cradle in the children's home....

And if it were only this...

What is worse is that, having realized herself, personally and professionally, and whatever else, through her job, no one can now stop the woman and help her to realize herself emotionally as well. The job and the colleagues in the job replace, quite successfully at that and, in a certain sense, even more pleasantly and with greater variety, the husband!

This is accomplished in a naturally logical manner. The colleague (regardless of whether his hierarchical status is equal or higher) is the one with whom the wife discusses her present and future in specific terms and with understanding and, if necessary, with sympathy. It is with his help that quite frequently she can attain both immediate and more distant goals. And if the woman is ambitious, this becomes particularly important. It is with this same colleague that she experiences joys and pleasures. And, quite frequently, concerns and not only job-related ones. With increasingly frequency personal concerns and, not infrequently, concerns for family problems or husband are included. With him, with her colleague, the woman shares secrets, secrets which she does not share, she does not have to share with her husband. It is her colleague that she most frequently admires, whether for successes in the work, creativity, wit, charm, courage, or gallantry....

The husband is for the evening.

An evening which is so short: cleaning, cooking dinner, talking with the children a little bit and glimpsing at their homework; ironing a shirt, sewing a button or mending socks. This is followed by dirty dishes, the stink in the closet and dirty laundry waiting to be washed....Where is there time left for the husband! Other than for some practical tasks which cannot be postponed

and some even more practical accounts and a...practical (after long procrastination) family love...

When is there time during a working day to admire the charm, manliness, wit and gallantry of he who is the father of the child...

#### Husband-Wife Relationship

Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 15 Jan 86 pp 2-3

[Article by Tosho Toshev]

[Text] Can you imagine the situation of men whose wives have a higher social position? Wives who, at home as well, remain officials of the state, directors and chiefs....For, let us be honest, whatever revolution we may have carried out in the world of women, in the consciousness and morality of the Bulgarians, man remains the head of the family. Equality in labor, salary and opportunities in life is one thing; as to who is the head of the family is something entirely different. Our people (and they are not alone) have resolved this problem and applied it for millennia. Any twin power in this area, any form of female priority, trigger a greater or lesser coercion over our national mentality, natural feeling and aspiration of the man to be the protector and defender of the woman and the woman to be the defended, protected, the person who seeks and finds support.

Let us consider the last names of families: I for one am unaware of a case in which the family takes the last name of the wife, even when this name is quite prestigious, let us not consider powerful or phonetically better. It is true that it is no longer rare for the wife to keep her maiden name regardless of whether or not it is hyphenated with the last name of her husband. I dare to claim, however, that in most of these cases this not only does not contribute in any way to any kind of special prestige for the wife, but precisely the opposite: it has frequently brought about certain difficulties or unnecessary burdens both for the husband and the family as a whole, the more so since, generally, the children take the father's name. When children reach thinking age they can hardly understand why their own last name has nothing in common with the last name of their mother.

When we speak of the "head" of the family, naturally, in no case do we imply any kind of command, not to mention despotism. It is a question of the axis around which the family will rotate. Every atom in animate and inanimate matter has its nucleus. So does the earth. It also has a mental axis around which it turns. The entire solar system has a nucleus and an axis of rotation. It is not alone, for without an axis there would be chaos. The family as well must have a nucleus and an axis around which it rotates. The axis, as we know, supports the heaviest load. It is precisely the axis which resists the stress of centrifugal forces and holds together the components of the entity.

The husband alone can be such a natural axis in the family. Exceptions are possible but in such cases the circumstances are rather special, i.e., not entirely natural. Does practical experience not indicate that it is precisely



where the man is in the center of the family microworld that events develop with approximately greatest accuracy? Some other prerequisites exist to this effect as well, for equality is equality and possibilities are something which has nothing to do with constitutional rights. Regardless of the financial emancipation of the wife, the main burden to support most families falls on the husband. Regardless of legally equal opportunities of the individual, hardly anyone would undertake to determine the time when the human possibilities of the husband and wife have become equal. Naturally, it would be stupid to say that one individual is more intelligent than another. However, is it not clear that, as a rule, even in the most feminized professions the leadership is virtually or almost entirely male? Let us consider medicine, science and the arts (not the performing arts but arts in which new spiritual values, which are timeless, are created, such as fiction, painting, music...). Let us not even mention areas, such as machine building, electronics, cybernetics, computerization, etc. Here the priority of the male is obvious and unequivocal.

The same priority should be equally unequivocal in the family. This, however, depends on both husband and wife. Yet it so happened that many modern women decided to begin with an attack, with an aggression and war precisely in this area. They take their right to equality literally.

We already mentioned the person most admired by women. The colleague...we also mentioned the person for whom they have the least amount of time....

On the other hand, however, turning things around, this entirely applies to the husband as well. For outside the family he is precisely that same charming, sweet, witty and so on colleague....This too has its respective prerequisites in life. The first among them is that deprived of his natural right to be the center of the family world, he becomes the center of another microworld of his, in his job and the enterprise where he spends the entire day. This is on the one hand. On the other, it is precisely there, outside the home, that he meets the woman in her most pleasant, most presentable aspect. There the woman is free, beautiful, tempting, and quite frequently active and aggressive....Let us consider a single feature: does anyone know of a case in which, coming home, the wife stand in front of the mirror, apply makeup, make herself more beautiful and more attractive and thus appear at her best?

I, for one, do not know of such a case.

As a rule, the woman puts on her best clothes, seeking a harmony of colors and moods, makeup and personal freshness precisely when she is about to go out, when she separates from her husband and goes to meet her colleague....As wife and at home she has her old clothes, worn out, eaten by the moths, smelling of onion and cooking oil. Who can compare the brilliance of the charm of the well-maintained and properly made up every morning charm with the loose skirt of the housecoat. As a rule, such a housecoat is always out of fashion, torn and sweaty.

Could anyone claim that all of this is accidental? Could anyone explain this by quoting lack of funds and clothing? I, for one, however they may explain

it to me, I would disagree with all such arguments or, at least, I would put the following in the first place: the husband is hers. He is trapped. She does not have to make herself all that beautiful for him (the same, although in a different way, applies to the husband).

Gradually, from people who have loved each other more than anything else they turn into people who tolerate each other, despite everything else.

This may sound rather generalized and may be refuted with an infinite number of specific examples. It is also exaggerated but, as a rule, unfortunately is rather widespread and, which is worse, is a mass feeling....

Is there a person who could seriously claim that he is absolutely sure of his wife? (of her husband). That she is the dearest, the most beloved, etc., mother of children (or, respectively, father...) who is unable to be unfaithful? Furthermore, in discussing such a topic, even for the sake of not becoming ridiculous in the eyes of one's partner everyone allows the possibility of such unfaithfulness. He allows it in words, naturally, still hoping that it is precisely he that this tempest has spared somehow, or else hopes he will not find out about it. He hopes. This lie, which protects him from the truth, is to be more skillful, more real, more unshakable.

Now, pay attention! I claim that the main reason for the weakening of the centuries-old pillar described as marital faithfulness is, once again, the woman. Once again this reason is related to her social emancipation, which has become sexual as well. Read and understood superficially, it was precisely this situation that was brought about by this emancipation. Whether this is good or bad it all depends on the viewpoint. Some men are pleased: what could be better or more pleasant than the sweet magic of an extra-marital relationship! They simply do not consider that in this whirlpool their own wife may be drowning somewhere else, for in that case, she is simply with her colleague.

How nice it is that our wives have become better educated and better well-read, that they have become partners, people with whom one could engage in a dialogue. But how bad it is that it is precisely now, when we are pleased by this fact, that divorces are increasing, the birthrate is dropping and we are frozen by alienation. Instead of being a hearth in which the flames are fed crackling pine branches, the family fire quite frequently becomes a sham like the false fireplaces made for less demanding tastes, in which a red-colored electric light bulb is glowing. What comes out of such a fireplace is such a cold that not a dialogue but, quite frequently, even coexistence becomes impossible.

Skipping for a moment the deformations in the male psyche which have taken place, as well as a certain atrophy in the manhood (a topic for another article), once again it is as though precisely the woman is the one who should rescue the weakened pillars of the family, not by curling up within its shell, no. This is not only impossible but would also be wrong.

The man, the husband, should become the only one so that she too could be the only one. Not by beginning to lose her husband or losing him entirely, for

after him the other will come. That one, the other, having lost the privilege of being the colleague, will pour his manhood into the cracked mold of marital life and will begin to look like the previous husband.

The wife must cast away her dirty housecoat....

She should wear her best clothing for her husband.

She must bring out his manliness, his gallantry, she should trigger them even when they are not there, she must admire his mind, his ability to work and his talent.

In the opposite case, what?

In the opposite case, divorce.

Or else, something worse: coexistence.

P. S.: The author realizes that in this article the role and place of the husband have not been analyzed with the same exigency as that of the wife. This, eventually, will become the topic of another article, for the problems are indeed serious and the family needs two people: a man and a woman.

#### Minkov Analyzes the Census Results

Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 15 Jan 86 pp 1-2

[Interview conducted by Rumyan Georgiev]

[Text] The preliminary results of the December 1985 population census were published yesterday. On that occasion, an editor met with Professor Minko Minkov, chief director for this area at the Committee for Social Information, which carried out this important state assignment and is currently is processing the obtained data.

[Question] Do the already known results show something unexpected and disturbing?

[Answer] Nothing, from the viewpoint of the number of the population. Our preliminary sources and exceptionally accurate preparations for the census itself had already provided us reliable data on the state of affairs. We knew that we could not expect the type of increase which we had in the past. The so-called "two-children model" of the Bulgarian family is a reality for the country and is even eroding the large cities. In my view, this is not a threatening trend although this model cannot bring about an average annual population increase in excess of 21,000. Such increase is normal in a developed industrial country. In this case, what is more serious is that it could easily drop to zero and become negative. Obviously, we need a different, a "three-children" model.

[Question] How can we impose it? Appeals and well planned resolutions are failing to yield expected results so far.

[Answer] The old solutions concerning the role of the family and the woman are unquestionably expedient and necessary, although they are not operating with the expected strength. That is why during the new Five-Year Plan period social policy should be focused even more specifically on the problems of the family and, especially, on helping the young families, for which already now a great deal is being done.

[Question] We realize the complexity of the problem, so that let us not consider as basic the topic of housing....

[Answer] Data on increased number of housing and housing area per capita are impressive. The leap toward improvements is obvious. Nevertheless, we are behind countries such as the GDR and Czechoslovakia, which have more than 20 square meters of housing area per capita. We would like the Bulgarian family to have three children yet we are engaged in the mass building of housing which, at best, is for two-children families. Clearly unresolved entirely is also the question of the allocation of apartments. I can tell you, for example, that in my apartment, which is quite ordinary, there are seven of us....

[Question] Is it therefore not a waste for one out of each nine families to have a summer cottage?

[Answer] Such an assessment would be rather extreme. I consider this an accomplishment. For the first time we have been able to count the number of cottages and the data are pleasing. Under contemporary conditions a person should have his own place for relaxation. Let us not forget that there is a link between material and spiritual possibilities, although it may not always be mandatory or simply of equal value.

[Question] We fully agree. We gather that the number of cottages is not increasing exclusively through new construction but also with the help of the family house in the village. Is this not somewhat discouraging, however, in terms of the village?

[Answer] It is not astounding in the least that the majority of the population live in the cities. Fifty percent of all Bulgarian citizens, furthermore, live in cities of over 20,000 people. We are an urbanized society. Let us not forget that along with the expansion of the cities so does the number of former villages which have become cities. If there is anything we must oppose it is not migration in general but the depopulation of some areas in the country. The universally familiar decree No 22 should be fully applied, i.e., the people in these areas should have a livelihood. New jobs are the core of any system of socioeconomic measures. Naturally, we could also speak of living conditions. Huts and mud would hardly keep settlers in a given area. Another major question is that of their relationship with the local residents. We made a special study in this area as well, which will enable us to make more accurate decisions. Let me emphasize that, with the help of some publications, we have developed a rather erroneous idea of settlers. Most roughly, it is expressed with the term "money-grubbers." However, the situation is entirely different. In the

majority of cases it is idealists that go to such places and it would be a great pity if they were to be disappointed.

[Question] Let us go back to yesterday's communication. It stipulates that the number of Bulgarian citizens of active age is declining.

[Answer] This too is not unexpected. Indeed, the decline is no longer merely relative as in previous censuses, but absolute as well. Naturally, it is compensated by the participation of people who have reached retirement age. Returning such people to active life is a pleasing and positive fact. It is very important, however, where those people will work and would this have adverse consequences affecting their health, etc. On the other hand, the decline in the number of people of active age urgently requires serious considerations and actions aimed at the intensification of public production and the faster and more daring application of the achievements of scientific and technical progress in production practice. In this sense, here as well, the census confirmed the accurate course charted by the party and the state.

[Question] This was obviously backed by the doubling of the educational standard of the nation.

[Answer] The significant increase in the number of individuals who have reached high educational levels and who, over the past 10 years, have increased by 65 percent, also confirms the democratic nature of the educational system in our country. We shall obtain data on acquired skills and jobs in order to evaluate the real results of the increase in educational standards. It is also true that a substantial share of the population has a below-average educational standard. No country can jump higher than its size. Let me remind you that until 1956 we had a 13 percent illiteracy rate and that the bulk of the population had grammar education. Few countries in the world have been able to accomplish what we have achieved in this area over the past 30 years. Even the introduction of mandatory secondary education does not automatically mean that everyone will graduate and that we will have people with high educational standards. Many years will pass until this system is fully operational. The initial conditions on the basis of which we are reproducing the educational structure of the population cannot be ignored. They also influence the psychophysical qualities of the children. There will always be those who drop out of school and we should work for their realization in society and for broadening their vocational choices.

[Question] The speed at which the public obtained the preliminary results of the census is a compliment to its organizers. However, we do not know very much about them.

[Answer] I believe that what the territorial computer centers, the people's councils and all the others who participated in this huge action have committed an exploit. Whenever someone builds a bridge under difficult conditions demanding total dedication, everyone finds out the name of the hero or the heroes. No particular noise was made concerning the work of the census takers and this work was ignored. It seems to me that they deserve better for everything they were able to accomplish.

[Answer] The folders in front of you probably contain curious facts which have not been included in yesterday's communication....

[Answer] What you are looking at are data from the okrugs. Indeed, these folders contain curious things and all of them will be officially published after we have finished with processing the data. Let me emphasize that for the first time the census was paralleled by an entire system of preliminary studies covering migration, jobs, individual problems, relations between town and country, the health status of the population, and so on, the results of which will be made public as well. They will provide us a comprehensive description of the Bulgarian people today.

[Interviewer] Professor Minkov, thank you for your responsiveness.

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## UNRESOLVED SOCIAL PROBLEMS IN AGRICULTURE EXAMINED

Sofia POLITICHESKA AGITATSIYA in Bulgarian No 19, 1985 pp 22-26

[Article by Docent Miladin Shatarov, chairman of the Trade Union of Agriculture and Food Industry Workers Central Committee: "Motive Force of Progress; Social Aspects of the March Plenum"]

[Text] The tasks in the area of agroindustrial production were concretized at the March plenum on the basis of the global party strategy of accelerating scientific and technical progress, as formulated in the speech by Comrade Todor Zhivkov at the February 1985 BCP Central Committee Plenum. The plenum's decisions are a comprehensive target program "...for the intensive and stable development of agriculture and the food industry, on the basis of the best achievements of scientific and technical progress."

The plenum, which adopted a comprehensive approach, paid great attention to the solution of the social problems facing agricultural workers. This approach is necessary, as Comrade Todor Zhivkov emphasizes, in order to convert social policy into "an active factor, a motive force for the development of the material and technical base and economic intensification." The essence of the party's general line "Everything in the Name of Man and Everything for the Good of Man" is being implemented through the comprehensive concern to meet the people's material, spiritual and social needs at each specific stage in our development. Radical changes were made in the social area and in the status of agricultural workers on the basis of the historical accomplishments in our economic development which followed the April 1956 BCP Central Committee Plenum. One of the fundamental principles governing the party's April social policy is the gradual equalization of working and living conditions of the working class and the agricultural workers, aimed at developing a socially homogeneous society within the historical boundaries of mature socialism.

Tremendous accomplishments were achieved with the help of this policy. Following are some data:

In 1965 wages per person employed in agriculture had reached 59.2 percent of the average annual wage in the remaining sectors and activities, and 57.5 percent of the average wage in industry. In 1983 the average annual wage per agricultural worker was 90.1 percent of the average for the other sectors and

activities, and 85.4 percent of the average wage in industry. Adding to this the income from the private plots and other sources, income per agricultural family member exceeds the national average.

Our accomplishments in social insurance are of historical significance. After 1975 agricultural workers were offered virtually equal status with the other categories of working people in terms of retirement pensions, aid for temporary disability, maternity and child care.

Working conditions in agriculture are improving steadily.

Since the creation of the NAPS [National Agroindustrial Union] the state and the economic organizations have spent nearly 1.5 billion leva on the social development of labor collectives in agriculture and the food industry. More than 2,000 farming and machine parks were improved, cafeteria facilities expanded and transportation and consumer services to agricultural workers are improving.

This, however, does not satisfy us. The March BCP Central Committee Plenum formulated with great concern unresolved problems in the social area as one of the main prerequisites for manpower reproduction in agriculture and the food industry.

Which are these problems?

The first applies to the grave contradiction between new equipment and technology and the level of manpower training. No more than 10 percent of people employed in agriculture have higher or secondary training; more than 79 percent have primary school or even lesser training. No more than 28.5 percent of performing cadres are highly skilled and the number of unskilled workers is almost the same. In 1982 there were 1,314 unfilled positions for specialists with higher training although more than 4,800 university graduates with agricultural training were employed in other sectors and activities.

The age structure of the manpower is continuing to worsen and a critical situation is already developing in some areas. On a national average, more than 41 percent of those employed in agriculture are over 50 years old and only 12.6 percent are under 30. The main factor for this situation is the continuing drain of young and skilled manpower and the unwillingness of a significant percentage of young people to prove themselves in the field of agriculture.

The study of the reasons for this state of affairs and numerous sociological studies have indicated that the main knot in which problems of manpower reproduction and stabilization are entangled that of working conditions and wages.

The share of hard physical, manual and unattractive labor in this sector remains high. Despite achieved successes, living conditions in many livestock farms, farmsteads and repair workshops remain poor. Shelters and other facilities for hygienic work are unavailable in the fields. The problem of



commuting to places of work is becoming aggravated; the range of cafeteria amenities and food distribution in the fields is unsatisfactory.

Another reason is related to the regimen of work and leisure time. About 40 percent of agricultural workers have converted to a 5-day work week but with a number of deviations; shift work in mechanization and animal husbandry is being applied too slowly.

Some problems in the field of wages have become apparent in recent years. In some cases wage standards are no longer consistent with the complexity, difficulty and social significance of the labor invested. Practical experience indicates that the lengthy and essential deviation from the socialist principle of equal wages for equal labor within the framework of the entire society, bearing in mind the general manpower shortage, intensifies its uncontrollable shifting from some sectors to others.

Some laws in the area of state and social insurance do not take sufficiently into account the specific features of farm work, its seasonal nature above all.

As we can see, we have already covered a significant portion of the way to shaping a socially homogeneous society. Now, however, we must take a new step in this respect in order to stop some negative trends in manpower and agricultural reproduction.

One range of problems will be resolved with the technical retuning of agricultural production. The use of new equipment and other means of production and the application of essentially new technologies and organization of production and labor will, in addition to their substantial economic results, have important social consequences. The amount of heavy physical, manual and unattractive labor will diminish and its creative nature will be increased. On the other hand, however, this formulates new requirements and a new approach to upgrading cadre skills. This process must be uninterrupted, comprehensive and conducted on a high scientific and practical level.

Efforts to upgrade farm worker skills have intensified in recent years. In 1983, for example, more than 180,000 farm workers attended skill upgrading courses and schools. The figure is substantial in itself. However, considering the major lagging, such accomplishments are unsatisfactory. Furthermore, more than 82 percent of the students attended them to refresh their knowledge rather than to upgrade their skills. The skill level of a significant percentage of mechanizers, livestock breeders and working people in other basic farm skills remains unsatisfactory. This indicates that under the guidance of the party bodies and organizations, the economic managements of the trade union organizations and the Komsomol must develop a real movement for decisively upgrading the skills of agricultural workers. In the opposite case, the gap between the possibilities of material facilities and scientific and technical accomplishments, on the one hand, and the level of skills of the manpower, on the other, will increase with all the negative consequences that this entails.

The time has also come to apply a rating scale in crop growing, thus creating the necessary incentives for skill upgrading.

Some laws regulating wages of some farm worker categories must be amended comprehensively, attentively and substantiatedly. It is necessary, above all, to review the situation of mechanizers, whose wages in recent years have fallen behind those in some other sectors requiring identical skills and offering similar working conditions. This equally applies to crop growing workers performing manual work. Naturally, in the future as well, the amount of wages will remain most directly related to labor results, within the limits of the self-support of economic organizations and brigades and the skill level obtained by the individual working person. The mass application of various types of piece-rate work does not eliminate the need to improve the wage scale, for the piece-rate tariff must be based in all cases on the same wage rate in order to make the labor results of piece-rate workers comparable.

Other problems related to living conditions and work and leisure time regimes brook no delay. As early as the 9th Five-Year Plan, the necessary resources must be allocated to resolve the transportation problem, to improve the farmsteads and livestock farms and to create normal living conditions in the field. Currently all such problems are being discussed on different management levels and solutions are being sought. The main problems, however, related to living conditions are in the hands of the economic and trade union organizations and labor collectives. This is also indicated by past experience. Tremendous work on creating good living conditions has been under way in Tolbukhin Okrug for more than 10 years. An ambitious program was formulated and is being implemented under the guidance of the okrug PCB committee, which has contributed to changes in living conditions in animal husbandry and for most of the mechanizers. Successes have been achieved in production and in the social area in each okrug and APK [Agroindustrial Complex], where concern for production starts with concern for the first production force--the people.

The most immediate tasks in this respect are the following: improving working conditions in machine and farm centers, livestock farms and other work places; expanding the range of cafeteria feeding (providing hot food during the intensive farm season); decisively improving transportation to and from places of work; equipping livestock farms and farmsteads with sanitary filtration; ensuring the availability of mobile and stationary field shelters; improving work clothing and means of personal protection, from the functional and aesthetic viewpoints. In accordance with stipulations and the characteristics of agricultural production, converting to a 5-day work week and shift work.

Considerable efforts have been made in the past few years to expand the "High Living And Servicing Standards In Each Labor Collective" movement. Very good results were achieved by the brigades and APK in Lyaskovets, Tervel, Bregovo and others. All of this has been accomplished by the collectives themselves. The work place of the labor collective is like its home and life in it will be the way the collective structures and maintains it. It is neither possible nor correct to expect the solution of such problems to come from superior bodies and organizations. The real way is to eliminate the major disparities in working conditions between agricultural workers and the other categories of

working people through the efforts and means of the labor collectives themselves. This increases the requirements facing economic and trade union managements as the organizers of the labor collectives.

At this stage, the social development of agricultural workers raises important problems also in terms of enriching the spiritual life of agrarian labor collectives and in the villages. Our achievements are tremendous but do not satisfy us. Observations indicate an alarming trend of disparity between material possibilities of individual agricultural workers and their spiritual interests. The requirement of molding a comprehensively developed individual demands the steady enrichment of spiritual life in collectives and villages. Exceptionally useful in this respect are the activities of the people's reading rooms, trade union houses, professional and hobby clubs, sporting and tourist organizations, and the intelligentsia in the countryside. Today we must coordinate even more closely their efforts for linking more closely their activities with those of agricultural workers and to concentrate, above all, on the brigade collectives. Here a rich spiritual life must be led and production-economic, social and spiritual interests must be satisfied in a state of dialectical unity. It is only thus that these collectives will become true socialist farms, creators of material and spiritual goods, implementing the party plans for the intensive and stable development of agriculture on the basis of the peak achievements of scientific and technical progress. This will also help the people to become comprehensively developed individuals, citizens of a developed socialist society.

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## AMERICAN MASS CULTURE SATIRIZED

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[Article by Jan Beran: "What Exactly Are They After?"]

[Text] For years the West has been trying to convince us that we are missing a lot by pursuing our own socialist cultural activities and opposing the "life-bearing" winds from the West which, as everyone knows bring only the best and most of everything.

We have used the term "convince" but apparently even in a simple matter like interpreting a simple word, we do not understand each other. The fact of the matter is that when he opposed these winds and continued to pursue that socialist culture of ours, they began "convincing" us that we needed this or that for our economy, that we had to (!) buy this or that film, that we must allow distribution of this or that periodical and even permit the American Information Service, USIA, to open an office in Prague. Well, here we do not call that "persuasion" but rather coercion and also blackmail.

Many places in the world have had rather bad experiences with the USIS centers (both the right and left hands of the CIA), as we did before February 1948. So, this did not work for them.

Simultaneously with all the above, they kept slandering us -- and do so to this day -- calling us some sort of "cultural desert," a dead arm cut off the mighty flow of world culture, etc., etc.

Sometime one has to wonder what this is all about.

As we know them from statements, such as yesterday "we will deny them everything and they will perish," or today "we will eradicate them as a historical error," we might rather expect that they would gladly wait until the "desert" overwhelms us or that we perish on that "dead arm." Strangely enough, this is not the case. At times it seems that they would like to suffocate us in that "cultural" embrace. The cultural forum in Budapest brought remarkable testimony of this. It is truly touching how some of these "cultural ambassadors" from beyond the sea would like to, whether we want it or not, teach us something in the field of culture and elsewhere. They fail to understand that the money they flaunt still reeks of blood, even today. They fail to understand that at the time their forefathers, in complete unity of purpose, were massacring the Indians, our predecessors were already busy creating many cultural values.

When we first read in "Das Kapital" about the cruel dawn of the capitalist era, discovery of the gold and silver mines where the proletariat suffered, now certain "humanists" enslaved the native populations and buried them alive in these mines, how with the accumulation of capital and industrial development, the neoprotestant puritans offered bonuses in their legislative bodies for Indian scalps, and the British parliament (!) feted those who expropriated the Indians through a right given them by God and nature! We could not believe our eyes when we read about all that. For we have already seen many of the Hollywood westerns of the period, including those with Reagan in them, and -- lo and behold -- there everything was quite different.

According to those films, covered wagons rode peacefully over the prairie and hills toward new homes, men and women gazed at the western horizon with hope, looked forward to future harvests, debated what they will plant, children played with their dogs which they had brought with them. Campfires resounded with mournful songs of old Ireland, Germany, France and who knows what other countries. A Scottish blacksmith O'Hara and an Italian seamstress Petronella Campuccini just pledged that they would be married by the pastor on arrival. However, while these two and others were spinning their plans, the Indians surrounded them from all sides, and amidst their yodelings, scalps and whole heads were falling, wagons and property aflame, and eventually all the pleasant planning came to an end at the torture stakes. When all this was brought under control and the treacherous Indians were slaughtered or herded into reservations, there was nothing but song through hill and dale and the sound of hoofbeats. A few evil cowboys or farmers were wiped out by sheriffs, heroic gunmen and Judge Lynch, while other young couples were falling into each others arms in bliss, especially if the land they inherited from their grandfathers was blessed with gold nuggets, oil or diamonds.

In brief, everything was nice and smooth, we know this from the originals, as well as parodies. This, however, was not an innocent game but the dawn of a new era, the era of real "mass culture!"

A lively stream, springing from up at the speed of the scientific and technological revolution and the "technotronic" age. A nice little present for civilization from America.

Well, I had better stop improvising, lest you begin to suspect me of desperation. It is, therefore, better that I revert to the "classics." Let us begin with the well-known Mr. Zbigniew Brzezinski. There is a classicist and expert on everything, including "mass culture."

"England gave the world the parliament," he wrote in his super opus on America between two ages, "France donated liberty, equality and brotherhood, while America's contribution was the scientific and technological revolution and mass culture." He was not alone in this, there were and are others who do not lag far behind, such as Bell, Aron, Adorno, McLuhan, Marcuse, Rosenberg, Rostow, Fromm, etc.

You can see that if we devoted even a paragraph to them all, we would soon run out of space. Let us, therefore board Mr. Ray Bradbury's spaceship and explore the future with him. "The twentieth century? It was getting tighter and tighter in the world. Some sort of universal unrest broke out. People were constantly rushing somewhere, the roads were clogged. They became gasoline nomads. The cities turned into tourist camps, people into tribes of gypsies. The tempo was increasingly faster. Books gradually became loaded weapons. Producers of information, publishers, editors, step by step, eliminated everything that was useless, redundant, and not to the point, as wasteful thought. Books were becoming smaller. Abridged editions, extracts, let us not waste time. The share of the spoken word on radio and television was getting smaller. Let us, instead, get to the point and the outcome quickly. Tales were retold more briefly, extracts extracted. What about politics? A headline, one or two columns, eventually only sentences. Twist the human in a hurricane of impressions, interests, emotions, constantly new experiences. More food for the eyes, more films, more picture books (Click, Pick, Boom, Pink, Clop). Digest everything, wring it out and then do it again. Play to the human with the roar of motors, jets, motorcycles, racing cars, deafening music, screams of tortured victims. More sports shows, games, parties, festivities. More fun, more excitement and other such things. Away with thought, protect the human from such labor, from intellect and philosophy. More narcotics, pornography and idiotic contests, and humans will have the impression they are smart and educated. Protect us from people who through their opinions, theories, ideas and thoughts would bring misfortune on us, destroy this happy world of today. Destroy that weapon, that book in your house and your neighbor's. Burn it! And if the neighbor does not like it, burn him and his house down too, after all, what is he good for?"

The American writer of fantasy novels called the book from which he has just quoted "Fahrenheit 51", the temperature at which paper burns. In this novel, both thought and books are destroyed by specialized units of firemen.

The writer of these lines cannot possibly name the thousands of such "perpetrators" of mass culture and their masterpieces. In any event, they will be long forgotten in the twenty-first or twenty-second century. One can, however, call them what best describes them, namely, manipulators, falsifiers, psychological warriors and ideological diversionists.

In some respects, Bradbury's fantasy has already become reality in this century. It remains only to say that the fairy tales of the advent and dawn of the capitalist era are presented in contemporary capitalist mass culture in a way which is really closer to the havoc raised by the capitalists, as described by K. Marx in "Das Kapital," at least in the sense that it demonstrates how the capitalist system is able to deform the human being. We are indeed not speaking of the works by authors of progressive traditions in the West, who, naturally, are not afforded much opportunity by the mammoth publishing houses spewing out hundreds of titles for "mass cultural" consumption.

Let us now together imagine that the comrades coming after us find this "documentation" of what goes on in America, that they will see beings looking like humans shooting at each other, stripping each other's skins, stabbing one another in the back or heart, throwing each other from cliffs or roofs, burying each other alive, all this under the influence of some substances they ingest in liquid or powder form, with or without smoke, they steal from pockets, safes or homes, while dancing around jubilantly over piles of valuable paper, multicolored stones, yellow metal, etc.

But wait a moment, I forgot to mention what the proponents of this type of "mass culture" think about it themselves. They claim that it represents the "sum total of consumerist values, offered to the public with the help of mass communication means under the conditions of a technical civilization," as expressed by G. Friedman. "It makes no difference whether this occurs under the slogan of democracy or dictatorship, in planned economies or unplanned," adds E. van den Haag.

How they would love to convince the world (and us, as well as themselves) that "we need not have any scruples, we are all the same, this is all part of human frailty, it is the fault of neither side because it all stems from technology, electronics, exposure of nuclear secrets, chemistry, biology, etc."

And who in the world can stop technological progress? It allegedly has beneficial effects outside of life itself.

This view was crowned by a certain lady, when at a dinner given by the British government she declared, glass in hand ready for a toast: "To halt nuclear testing, testing of biological weapons, missiles, lasers and orbital bombs, would mean abandoning scientific and technological progress." This was six days before the meeting of President Reagan and M.S. Gorbachev!

This then is the results of the "beneficial influences of mass culture."

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END